

JIMMA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES
DEPARTEMENT OF HISTORY AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

**RESETTLEMENT AND VILLAGIZATION IN GABBAA
AWRAJA; THE CASE OF YAYYOO, DORANNII AND
HURRUMUU DISTRICTS, ILUU ABBAA BOOR, (1950-1991)**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE
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FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
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JIMMA, ETHIOPIA

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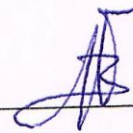
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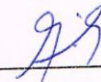
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Abstract

The objective of the study is to investigate the history of resettlement and villagization schemes in Ilu Abbaa Boor's Yayyoo, Dorrannii and Hurrummuu districts from 1950 - 1991). The study covers the period from 1950 to 1991. The purpose of the study is to fill the gaps which not studied about the history of the resettlement and villagization programs in Ilu Abba Boor in general and particularly in the study areas. The study is enriched with data gathered from primary and secondary sources. In regard to primary data, investigation was conducted on oral sources and achievable materials available in the study area. This was done with the objective to collect genuine data for the research at hand. Here, careful interviews were administered with oral informants to collect authentic oral information, which offered the researcher with the favorable condition to substantiate the study; and different unpublished and published documents have also been investigated. The study argues resettlement and villagization could bring relative change on the pre-existing indigenous social, political, economic, cultural, religious, etc., affairs of the native inhabitants. In addition, the study argues that the two programs caused ecological degradation, and became the cause for the occurrence of pervasive soil erosion and reduction of subsistence production. The study shows that the implementation of resettlement and villagization programs had been the causes for the introduction of some cultural elements co-existed with the pre-existing indigenous cultural values. It also reveals how the 1950s resettlement program was initiated to achieve the rural transformation objective, which failed to bring success because of lack of plan. It is also showing how the implementation of the two schemes was provided the state with the chance to secure food security without foreign support. However, the two rural transformation programs failed because of lack of the consent of the people and unexpected political dynamic seen globally and locally. The research findings reveal how villagization and resettlement badly affected the low social group like artisans in their traditional economic activities and cultural settlement patterns. The research finally shows that the two programs were failed due to the change in political transformation world wide.

Preface

The purpose of the study is to fill historical gap, seen in literature about history of resettlement and villagization programs that were implemented in the study areas by different regimes with the objective to improve the rural livelihood through the provision of socio-economic facilities such as pure water, schools, hospitals, etc. The researcher tries to assess and investigates the history of resettlement and villagization and the impacts look like during 1950 to 1991 in the study area. The study was conducted through qualitative research method involving descriptions and analyses. The study is enriched with data gathered from primary and secondary sources. In regard to primary data, investigation was conducted on oral sources and materials available and accessible in the study area. The work not easily to fulfill due to the following reasons. The research has been highly affected by informants' attitude, their outlook and lack of major works on a history of resettlement and villagization program in general in Ilu Abbaa Boor and the study area in particular.

The study is divided into five chapters; the first chapter presents some preliminary information about the study area. These include geographical and historical backgrounds, like physical features, i.e., forest, mineral resources, economy; and the historical section reveals peopling, social organization, and background of the study about resettlement and villagization in the study area. Chapter two deal on resettlement and villagization. Chapter three focuses on villagization. Chapter four, investigate the impact of resettlement and Villagization, and makes an in-depth historical investigation on the impact brought by the resettlement and Villagization programs and shows changes and continuity less brought to the environment, social, economic, political and cultural set up and fill gap left by the past historiography of Ethiopia. Significance of the study is to fill the gaps seen in the past Ethiopian studies, and provide researchers with insights to conduct further research on similar issue of Iluu Abbaa Boor in general and the study area in particular. If this study meets this, it is a success.

Acronyms

AVDA	Awash Valley Authority
CSA	Central Statistical Agency
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
EPRP	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Party
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NVCC	National Villagization Coordinating Committee
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
PA	Peasant Association
POMOA	Provisional Office for Mass Organization Affairs
RRC	Relief and Rehabilitation Commission
SA	Settlement Authority
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund
UNICER	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
URRAP	Universal Rural Road Access Project
WPE	Workers’ Party of Ethiopia
WHO	World Health Organization

Key to Transliteration System

The following symbol used to translation shows certain Amharic context the translation system is collected from various materials and classified into three section and five regular English vowels (a, e, i, o, u) and two irregular words.

A) Amharic Transliteration System

Order	Vowel Symbol		Example
1 st order (<i>geez</i>) –	ä	ጉማሮ	Gumäro
2 nd order (<i>ka'eb</i>)	u	ኡመራ	humära
3 rd Order (<i>Sales</i>)	I	መጂድ	<i>Mäjid</i>
4 th order (<i>rabe'e</i>)	a	አምባ	<i>amba</i>
5 th Order (<i>hames</i>)	é	አሌ	Allé
6 th order (<i>sades</i>)	e	ሥራዓት	<i>Sere'at</i>
7 th order (<i>sabe'e</i>)	o	ደቦ	<i>Dbäo</i>

I. Potalized Sounds are reprints as follows

ሸ	Š	ሸዋ	Šäwa
ቸ	Č	ዘማቸቸ	<i>Zemčoč</i>
ኘ	Ň	ቀኛዘማቸ	<i>Qäñäzmac</i>
ዠ	Ž	ገሻ	<i>Gäž</i>
የ	Y	የመንግስት	<i>Yemängest</i>
ገ	G	ጋምቤላ	Gambélla

II. Gilotazed sounds are reprints as follows:

ቀ	Q	ቀበሌ	<i>Qäbälé</i>
ጠ	T	ጠቅላይ ግዛት	<i>Ṭäqlay Gezat</i>
ጨ	Č	ወርቅ	<i>Wurč</i>
ጰ	Ā	ጳጳስ	papas
ጸ/ፀ	Š	ጸጸት	<i>Säsät</i>

CHAPTER ONE

1. GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1. Geographical Background

1.1.1. Location

Formerly, the study area was administered in the Iluu Abbaa Boor *Ṭäqalay Gezat* or province, which is presently in Ilu Abbaa Boor zone in the southwest region of Ethiopia. Consequently, Ilu Abba Boor *Ṭäqalay Gezat* (governorate general) later called Ilu Abbaa Boor *Keflä Hagär* (province) in the present-day Iluu Abbaa Boor zone of Oromia regional state. Likewise, the province was extended as far as the Ethio-Sudanese border in the west, Wallaggaa in the northeast and Kaffa in the southwest. Currently, it is bounded by Gambella in the west, east Wallaggaa and Jimma in the east, Kaffa and Sheka zones of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples regional state (SNNPRS) in the south and West Wallaggaa and Qellam Wallagaa in the north.¹

Following the restoration of the Imperial government in 1941, the province was divided into five *awrajas*, namely: Soor and Gabbaa, Bunnoo-Beddellee, Goree, Mochaa and Gambellaa *awrajas* (sub-provinces as well). Thus, Soor and Gabbaa, one of the former five *awrajas* of the province, was located in the center of the province. It was one of the most fertile and forested parts of the province. The *awraja* was bounded by Bunnoo-Beddellee in the north, Goree *awraja* in the west, SNNPRS in the southwest and Gimbi *awraja* (today West Wallagaa and Qellam Wallagaa) in the north. Formerly, the *awraja* had six districts, namely Yaayyoo, Mattuu, Supheee-Sooddo, Daarimuu, Dorannii and Noophaa districts.²

¹Lemessa Bekele, "Argo-Ecological History of the Soor and Gabba *Awraja* (Ca.1941-1991)", (MA Thesis, Jimma University, History, 2007) , p.1.

² *Ibid.*

Map 1: A Ilu Abbaa Boor *Täqalay Gezat* during the Imperial Period



Source: Balachew, p.32

The above historical map shows the regional administrative structure designed to fit the then political interest of the imperial government. The region was divided into four administration units, sub-provinces, each with its own center of administration. Soor and Gabba *awraja* was created in 1962 E.C. (1969/70) following the construction of road that connected Jimma and Ilu Abba Boor. The administrative seat of this new *awraja* Mattuu, the present zonal capital.³

³ Aemiro Tadesse, "A Social History of Iluu Abbaa Boor 1890 to 1990", (MA Thesis Jimma University, History, 2017), pp 52.

During the 1970s, the *Därg* changed the administrative name of the country in which *Keflä-Hagärs*, *awrajas* and *wärädas* were established. Similarly; the government reshuffled the administrative structure of Ilu Abba Boor. According to this arrangement in addition to the former four *awraja*'s of the province, between 1980 and 1990, some of the sub-districts of the Gabbaa *awraja* were merged together and named as Yaayyoo-Hurumuu district on the basis of the pre-existing local community groups⁴.

Soor and Gabbaa *awraja* was formed with its administrative center at Mattuu town. The new *awraja* consist of Yayyoo, Hurumuu, Bachoo, Algee Saachii, Dorannii, Billoo Noophaa, Daarimuu and Mattuu *Zuriya* (area) districts⁵.

Since 2007, the new administrative structure was introduced in which Hurumu and Dorannii were separated from Yaayyoo and upgraded to district level, which my study areas included.⁶ This was caused by the need to help people have administration service and to maintain their social, political and economic rights.⁷ Therefore, the study is focused on re-construction of history on the resettlement and villagization programs conducted in Soor and Gabbaa *awraja*: the case of Yayyoo, Hurumuu and Dorannii districts from 1950 to 1991.

Latitudinally and longitudinally, Yayyoo, Hurumuu and Dorannii districts area located between 8°6'0" N-8°33'20" N 35°41'20" E-36°6'0" E in the mid of the former Ilu Abba Boor *Ṭäqlay Gezat* or province as well. Generally, the total land mass of the districts covers 156,097 ha. According to the population projection of 2007 of National Population Census report, the *awrajas* total population number was estimated to be 156,102 from the total population of the province estimated at about 79,9862.⁸

⁴Aemiro, pp.1- 2; Yassin Mohammed. "A History of Iluu Abbaa Booraa, Ethiopia, Ca. 1889-1991", (PhD Dissertation, Addis Ababa University, History, 2009),p.1.

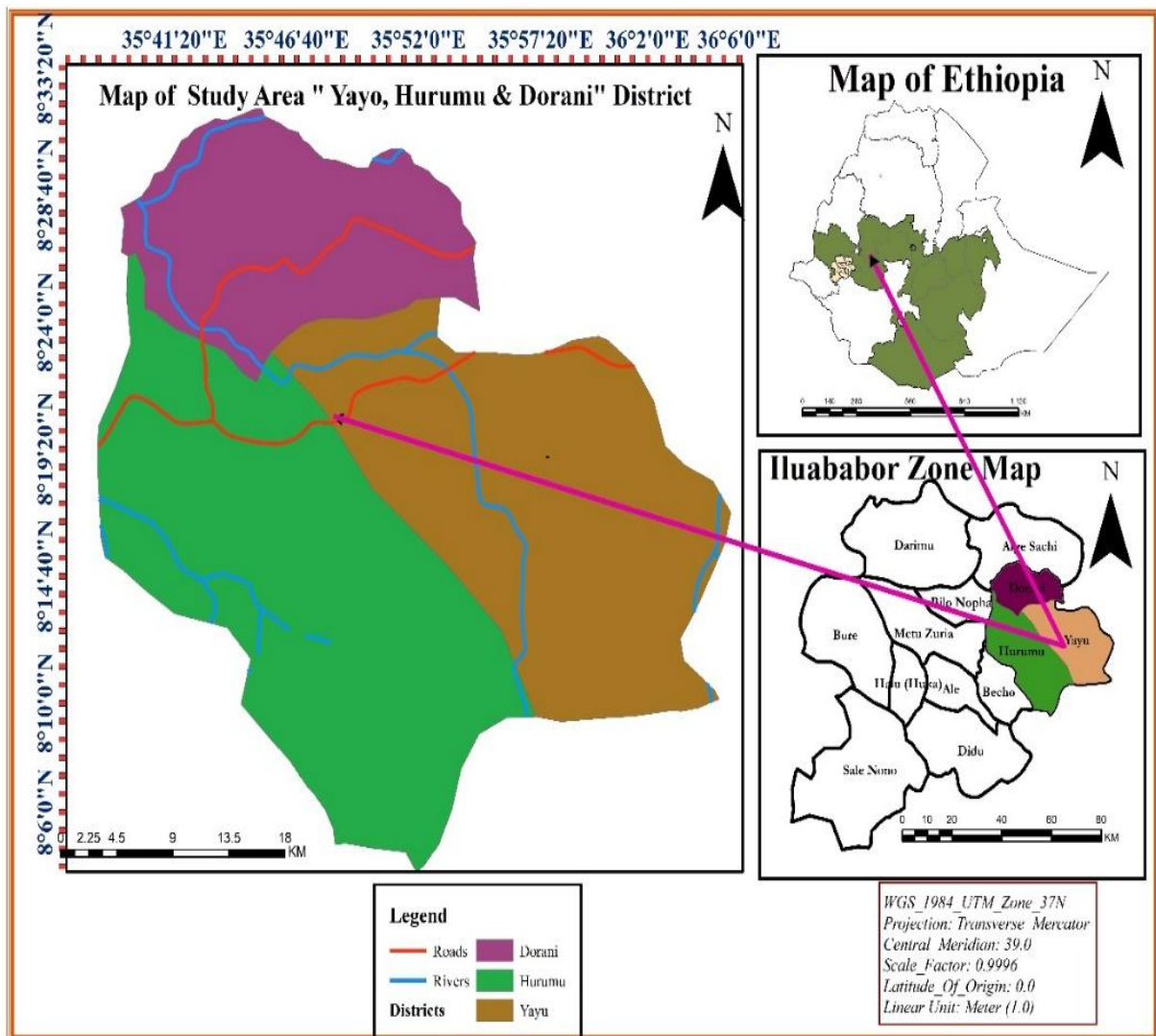
⁵Belachew Fekede, "A History of Yayo District (*Warada*): Ilu Abba Bor Zone, Southwestern Ethiopia (Ca. 1880-1991)", (MA Thesis, Jimma University, History, 2019), P. 50.

⁶Balachew, P. 1.

⁷Informants: Abara Habte, Dheressa Tucho, Aregay Kiflom, and Mohammad Negaho.

⁸ Adapted From, Population projection of Ethiopia for All Region at Werada Level from 2014-2017, Addis Ababa, 2013.p,12-13

Map 2: Gabbaa Awraja



Source: Ethio- GIS

1.2. Physical Features

The study area shared the same landscape features with the surrounding regions known for having different land features. It has enormous gorges, and there are hills that measure between 1400 and 2800 meters above sea level.⁹ The physical landscape is believed to have been shaped by Mesozoic maritime layers. These geological events mostly caused the appearance of intensive portable and faulting of Precambrian rocks. There have been long mountain chains, which were formed by the upward pressures of the earth's crust. This is the cause for the occurrence of climatic, soil and vegetation distribution variations. Such

⁹ Lamesa, p. 5.

ecological diversity became the most important preconditions for the selection of the region for the population resettlement.¹⁰

From temperature and elevation perspectives, the region was divided into three agro-climatic zones. The districts have had three climatic zones: these are Highland (*Baddaa*), and mid-highland (*badda daree*) and low land (*gammoojjii*).¹¹ Such climatic diversity and land elevations partly are said to have contributed to the existence of plant and animal varieties. The areas have experienced a little annual temperature variation. Thus, the mean annual temperature is between 12°C and 15°C, which represents the minimum and maximum temperature patterns of the region. The change of the temperature patterns consequently followed by the occurrence of pervasive change on ecosystem.¹²

1.2.1. Economy

Like other Oromo groups, previously, the Maccaa-Oromo had experienced mixed economy system. It is known and was plenty; there was no shortage of grazing land and water for both human beings and domestic animals due to the existence of stable ecosystem, which resulted from friendly relationship between man and nature. The Oromo of southwestern Ethiopia, including the Gabbaa *awraja* Oromo groups are said to have established their ox-plow agriculture, and produced cereal crops useful to support their household demands. There had been less population pressure exerted on natural environment, and there was no intensive destruction of the forest resources with the objective to expand farm land.¹³

Agriculture is the main stay of the people of Ilu Abbaa Boor in general and study area in particular. The agro-ecological condition of the area favors both crop production and animal raising activities. The major crop produced constitutes cereal crops such as maize, *teff*, wheat, barely, sorghum and millet), legume, groundnuts, oilseed, vegetables and others. The presence of extensive pasture along with plentiful water bodies the area endowed favors extensive animal husbandry. The potential of the land together with promising climatic

¹⁰ Lemessa, pp. 5-6 ; Yasin, p.1.

¹¹ Zewde Jote. “*Institutions, Incentives and conflict in Coffee Forest Use and Conservation: the case of Yayo Forest in Iluu Abba Boor zone, Southwestern Ethiopia*” (Ph. Dissertation. Rheinischens Wilhelms-Universitat zu Bonn 2009), P.12.

¹² Lemessa, p. 6.; Yassin Mohammed “A History of Iluu Abbaa Booraa, Ethiopia, Ca.1889-1991” (Ph.D Dissertation, Addis Ababa University, History, 2009), p.1-3, Aemro, p.3; Melese Alemayehu, “A History of the Ilu Oromo of Yayo in Iluu Abbabor Zone, Southwestern Ethiopia, 1820s–1974”, (MA Thesis, Jimma University, History, 2017) , pp.1-2.

¹³ J. C. McCann, *People of the Plow. An Agricultural History of Ethiopia, 1800-1990* (The University of Wisconsin Press, History, 1995), Pp .5 and 40; Zewde, pP. 98-99; Banti, p. 25.

condition the province can support numerous crop varieties production; perhaps, both crop production and animal rearing are practiced in subsistence level.¹⁴

With the passage of time, there had been local trade activities, which were conducted by different ethnic groups, who exchanged petty commodities with the objective to satisfy household needs. However, in the late the 19th and early 20th centuries, the introduction of cash economy causes the beginning of the long-distance trade in the region. This was encouraged by the opening of the Gambèla dry trade port in 1905. In most cases, geo-economic importance of Ilubabor provided people favorable condition to create trade linkage with the Gambèla dry trade port, which passed from Gambèla through Ilu Abba Boor or Goree (Mattuu), Qellam (Sayyoo); and it was lucrative trade port in southwestern region of Ethiopia. It was also the most important port through which Ilu Abbaa Boor coffee was believed to have exported in tones for cheap price as compare to the coffee exported through Djibouti port. The trade was said to have dominated by the merchants from Mattuu like Majid Abud (an Arab native known in coffee export) and other indigenous merchants.¹⁵ At the end of eighteenth century, the Maccaa-Oromo economic transformation was caused by the rapid population growth, shortage of grazing land, the expansion of ox-plw agriculture and trade. Equally, local rich land lords had had the chance to collect tributes from long distance traders and peasants. This enabled them to strengthen their economic power and developed monarchical state system at the expense of the *gadaa* system.

The agro-ecological condition of the also suits for agro-forestry crops such as coffee, *Khat*, papaya, Mango, Orange, banana and the likes. In addition to these the agro ecological condition highly supports the ground nets, vegetables, spices like cinnamon. The natural forest resource endowment of the area has created suitable environment for beekeeping and it make the province the principal producer of specialty honey, produced in the region was remained a supplementary source of income for the inhabitants. The climate inventory of the study area indicates that of the study area has experienced high rain fall that continuously falls without interruption throughout the year¹⁶

¹⁴Gremew, Haile Discourse of *Origin of Coffee*: (printing by African Printing PLC, Finfinnee, Ethiopia, 2015), p. 8. Informants: Yimamu, Miresa, and Abadir Nuru.

¹⁵Bahru Zewede “An Overview and Assessment of Gambella Trade (1904-1935)” , *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1987), (Boston University,2018), pp.75-94; Lemessa, pp.38-43; Belachew, p.12.

¹⁶*Ibid.*

The long rainy season has been obstacle for production of some like *tef* (*Eragrostis tef*) which could easily be destroyed by rainfall. Consequently, in some areas crops mainly west of the Gabbaa river valleys was not promising for *tef* (*Eragrostis tef*) production. Coffee and Khat (*Catha edulis*) has become the major source of income for most of the agrarian communities of the province. In general, despite the productive potential the yield of producers was not beyond household consumption level.

1.2.2. Forest

The region is endowed with the existence of different plant species, varying from broad-leaved deciduous woodlands in the lowlands to mountain rainforests in the highlands. The study area is known by the existence of dense natural forest, which plays pivotal role in preservation of the balance of nature. It is known for its natural resource endowment with a variety of vegetation, soil types and wild animals. The most common are Hambabessa (*Albizia gummifera*) Waddessa, (*Cordia Africana*), Qararoo, (*Aningeria adolfi friederte*) l, Hogda, (*Ficus varta*), Sondi (*acacia lahai*), and Alale, (*Albizia grand ibracteata*) and etc.¹⁷

Yaayyoo forest is the known natural endowment, which gives regulatory service for all biotic and abiotic environes. Motly, the forest maintains the spesies of wild coffee arabicca, which is one of abundantly available wild plant in the forest. The forest is found on the highest altitude sutiable for human settlement. Basically, coffee is the major sourcs of income for the local communities because of existence of geographical barriors to engage in other agricultural acivites. Yayyoo forest is importantent for wild plant spesies conservation.¹⁸

The Yayyoo forest was registered as international Biosphere Reserve area by United Nation Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2010. This forest area is said to have divided into three zones (Core zone, Buffer zone and Transitional zone). Core zone composed of a non-interrupted forest areas usful for conserve ation of biodiversity area which is free from human contact. On the oter hand, Buffer zone is also sub-divided into two zones (Buffer ZoneI and Buffer Zone II). The area is surrounded by the Core zone and used for social services and environmental protective activities. The transition zone is containing the settlement areas, transportation service, farms and other human activities were conducted by

¹⁷ Lemessa, p. 8.

¹⁸ Tadesse Weldemariam “Vigitation of Yayu Forest in Southwest Ethiopia: Impact of Human Use and Implications for Insitu Consrvation of Wilde Coffee Arabica L. Population.” Ecology and Development Series No.10, 2003, pp.62-63.

local communities. This zone has the large amount of land mass which is 117,736 hectares. This forest area is very important for preservation of biodiversity.¹⁹

However, the forest exposed to pervasive human threats. Mostly, the expansion of coffee palantation and ox-plow agriculture-imposed impact on the forest. Besides, the forest used as important source of fire wood and construction materials. The expansion of illegal timber production activities also aggravated the process of forest destruction. This became the cause for the loss of soil fertility due to incerasiment of surface flood. There has been reduction of surface water reserves consisted of rivers, streams, ponds, etc., due to the expansion of forest destruction. Therefore, it is essential to take immediate action by the concerned bodies in order to restore the forest and other natural resources.

¹⁹ Tadesse, p.99

Figure 1: Gabbaa Forest



Sorce: Zawude, 2009, p.15

In Ilu Abbaa Boor as whole Yayyoo, Hurrumu and Dorannii have been covered with dense forest, which accounts for 24.42 percent. This enabled the region to be selected as one of the 58 National Forest Priority Areas, which covers 608,396 hectares (1,629.01km²) that constitutes 9.97 percent of the total land of the region. This contributed to the highest percentage of forest coverage in the area as well as in the country due to its relatively lower population pressure on natural resources during the imperial regime.²⁰

²⁰*Ibid*, pp. 9-10.

In the study area, people used forest resources to secure their different needs. Therefore, people have developed knowledge on how to use forest resources as the source of fuel, food or honey, water, shelter, medicine, divination, cosmetics, dyeing, textiles, building or farming tools, ornamentation, clothing, rituals, social life, music, and other, which played vital role in material and spiritual requirements. It is known that forest is used as important resource to promote sustainable development activities at national in general and local levels in particular. Most importantly, in the study area, the Yayyoo forest is known by its natural endowment of Coffee Arabica, and it plays vital role in the local communities' income generation activities, and it also provides people with the chance to have sustainable income generation and support to their livelihood. Besides, the forest coffee also has cultural supportive values, and people use its beans to celebrate their ritual activities. Hence, since long ago, in the area, coffee has been the most important pulling factor, which attracted people into the area and settled illegally to get benefit from the resource. In addition, coffee plays pivotal role in natural resource conservation activities. Thus, people have developed knowledge on how to conserve forest resources, and used forest products in account to protection of the coffee plant from the threat of sun shine.²¹

The forest is also the home of different small and big wild animals. It is also the home of different bird species. Some of wild animals include monkey (*Jaldeessa*), Columbus monkey (*weennii*), verve monkey, (*qamalee*), porcupine, (*xaddee*), fox, (*wango*), hyena, (*waraabessa*), bush buck, (*bosonuu*), duiker, (*quruphee*), brazes monkey, (*chena'a*), several cats, (*Iyyanii*), ant-eater, (*awaal diigessa*), leopard, (*qeeransa*), and bat, (*simbiro halkanii*). On the other hand, there have been some big wild animals such as lion, (*leenca*), buffalo, (*gafarsa*), bush pig, (*booyyee*), and warthog, (*karkarro*), also exist in forest. Some of the wild animals such as anabas baboon, and have were living in the forest.²²

Historically, the conquest of southwestern region by Menelik II, in the 1880s in the southwest in general and the study area in particular added the expansion of plow-agriculture, which aggravated by the north-south migration of people, and population land use cultivation and over-grazing, movement of political centers, and exploitation of forests has reduced the forest area of the country to 16% in the 1950's and to less than 2.7% between 1974-1991 in general

²¹Kefelegn Getahun, *et al.* "Impact of Resettlement Programs on Deforestation of Moist Evergreen Afromontane Forests in Southwest Ethiopia." *International Mountain Society* (Jimma University, Geography 2017), P. 474; informants: Yimamu Abdu, Bekele Burayu and Mohammad Nagaho.

²²Aemiro, Pp.7-15; Gebirechros Woldegiorgise and Tilaye Wube, "A Survey Mammals of Yayu Forest in southwest Ethiopia", *SINET: Ethiop. J. Sci.*, 35(2):135-138 (Zoological Science, Addis Ababa University, Zoology ,2012), pp. 136-137.

in Ethiopia particular in the study area. Moreover, the situation was accelerated by the implementation of resettlement and villagization schemes that proposed during Därg regimes of Ethiopia with the intention to improve the lives of the rural community at the expense of the Oromo resource sensitive indigenous cultural values. Consequently, in the region, plant species faced relative genetic loss, and there was also pervasive land degradation and loss of soil fertility, which brought challenge on the production of subsistence crops.²³The above constraints were the products of massive population transfer from drought affected area into the study area with the objective to rehabilitate drought victims at the cost of social, economic, cultural, religious, political, assets of the host communities.

In the same way Zawude argued that 50 percent of natural high land forest has been lost or degraded at time span of 1974-1997 because of the implementation resettlement program in the south west the region during the *Därg* regime.²⁴The evidence above implies that the implantation of resettlement and villagization program of cause the forest disturbance in Ilubabor Province in general and the study area in particular.

1.2.3. Mineral Resources

The study area has several geological features, which might have been resulted from the ups and downs of the earth movements occurred during the territory period, especially during the Cenozoic era. Thus, in the region, there are different tourist attraction centers such as waterfalls and marshy lands. Above all, the Sor falls, which reflect the natural beauty of the region, have high potential for tourist attraction. In addition, it is possible to use the falls as energy source, which will play pivotal role in local development schemes if the possible attention given by government and other concerning body.²⁵ Despite that the region has never been provided with adequate infrastructure supplies in order to develop the falls and ensure

²³Asaffa Kuru, "The Conquest and Environmental Degradation of Oromia", *The Journal of Oromo Studies* Vol.II, No.1 and 2, (Middle Tennessee State University, USA, 1995), Pp.40-44; Zarihun Dejene, *Yayo Coffee Forest Biosphere Reserve Management Plan*, (Oromia Environmental Forest and Climate Change and Authority and Oromia Forest and Wildlife Enterprise Article, Philmont Press P.L.c, 2018), P.15. Zawude, pp.190-100; Derjew Yilak and Daniel Getahun "Impacts of Human Resettlement on Forests of Ethiopia: The case of Chamen-Didhessa Forest in Chewaka district, Ethiopia." *Journal of Horticulture and Forestry* Vol. 11(4), (Adama Science and Technology University, Biology, 2019), pp. 73-74; Badige Bishew, "Deforestation and Land Degradation in Ethiopia High Lands: Strategy for Physical Recovery" *Northeast African studies* vol. 8, No. 1 (Oregon State University, Corvallis, Forestry, 2001), p. 1; Adriap Wood, "Natural Resource Conflict in South-west Ethiopia: State, Community, and the Roll of National Conservation Strategy in the Search for sustainable Development" *Nordic Journals of African Studies* ,2(2):83-89, (University of Huddersfield, UK, 1993), pp.87-89.

²⁴ Zawude, P.1.

²⁵ Aemro, p.4; Balachew, P.4.

the success of public benefit from the sector. Because of this, the economic value of the falls has not been tasted.

On the other hand, in the region, there have been valuable mineral resources. These include mineral waters, charcoal and natural hot springs locally called *hora*. This mineral water is said to be important medicine, which has high curative value, and people use it to cure themselves from different internal and external infections. Mostly, it is useful medicine to cure from skin diseases. Before the introduction of modern scientific medical service into the region, with strong belief, *hora* or mineral water was said to have used by the native people to cure from which they have been suffering; and it was also used for feeding of cattle to make them more productive and healthier in their life time.²⁶

In the first half of the twentieth century, in the area, the introduction and expansion of religious practices (Christianity, Islam) had exerted extensive influence on the practice of the Oromo indigenous beliefs. Consequently, people forced to lose their indigenous moral values and preservation of the natural resources. As a result, many of the mineral water places have been remained under the Orthodox Church authority, and the minimal water also became special business center under the control of priests and their partners' deacons. Such historical events have created wide gap between the local people and the holy or scared objectives more of closely attached to the elements of the environment such as trees, rivers, streams, mountains, lakes, animals, etc. Such scared objects considered as devilish materials, and users also advised by the Church and mosque officials not to use them as before. Thus, indigenous scared objects including the living heritages became at the verge of elimination.²⁷

1.2.4 Peopling of the Study Area

Historically, in the course of the 16th century, in the Horn of Africa, there had been massive Oromo movement that was launched from the Bale Highlands, and the movement was conducted after the large Oromo society was divided into several groups or confederations, which led their separate movement to the south, north and west directions of the present territorial extent of Ethiopia. Unlike the highland Christians or on occasion the lowland Muslims, the Oromo were not concerned with establishing an empire or imposing a religious system. In a series of massive population movements, during the second half of the sixteenth century, different groups penetrated much of the southern, southwestern, eastern lowland and northern highlands of Ethiopia. These movements were not without challenges. There had

²⁶Aemro, pp. 4-6; Balachew, P.4.

²⁷Aimero, p.5; Yasin, p.8; informants: Yemamu, Muhammed and Muhammed Nego.

been intra or inter-ethnic wars due to the rise of quest for new land and pastures.²⁸ As they moved farther from their homeland and encountered new physical and human environments, entire segments of the Oromo population adapted by changing their mode of economic life, their political, their religious and social organization. However, no matter how much they changed, the Oromo groups believed to have generally retained their language and sense of local identity. Even though the Oromo have been dispersed, they survived with their ancestral cultural heritages.²⁹

Previously, there had been minor settlement areas established by different ethnic groups such as the Shekacho, and Shako. The Oromo arrival had brought serious challenge on the survival of the early settlers. Thus, in the study area, the Oromo settlement was not free from the resistance that exerted by the pre-existing ethnic groups. The first resistance came from the Shekatcho group, which ended at the battle called Amumaa Dagituu, at the expense of the Shakacho resistance. As a result, they were forced to evacuate their early settlement area and moved to the present Shaka zone. Similarly, the [Gumuz] group was also removed from the area and settled in the Birbbir River valley located between Wallaggaa and Iluu Abbaa Boor³⁰

On the other hand, Bartels argues that southwestern Ethiopia was dominated by non-Oromo ethnic groups such as Mao, Watta in the highlands and Gumuz, Sheti, Koma, Anuak in the lowlands. In the region, all the highlands that claimed by the Maccaa Oromo had been dominated by the Mao ethnic group, who crated one society with a class of royal overlords, called Busasi. They exerted serious resistance against the Maccaa-Oromo expansion, and inflicted repeatedly defeats on them. Because of their numbers, however, the new settlers were bound to prevail eventually. While taking their land from these people, the Maca took slaves from among them and married Mao's women and other assimilated by Oromo peoples.³¹

As the demographic condition was further changed the demand, for new land became greater than before, and the Maccaa groups continued their expansion farther west and southwest wards evacuating Odaa Bisil to the current provinces of Wallagaa, Ilu Abbaa

²⁸ Mohammed Hassen, "Oromo of Ethiopia, 1500-1850 With Special Emphasis on the Gibe Region" (PhD Dissertation, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1983), p. 96-97. Yasin, pp.9-12; Belachew, pp.8-11; Lemessa, pp.12-18.

²⁹ Mohammad; Yasin pp9-12; Balachewpp 8-111; Lemessa, P. 12-18.

³⁰ Abreham Alemu, "Ethnicity and Local Identity in the Folklore of the South-western Oromo of Ethiopia: A Comparative Study" (Ph. D Dissertation, Amsterdam University, Anthropology, 2006), p.10.

³¹ Bartels, L. *Oromo RE Myths and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia An Attempt to Understand*, (Dietrich Reimer Verlag Berlin, Philosophy, 1983), pp.20-21.

Boor, Jimma and other adjacent areas. From these Maccaa groups various Tume Clans were said to have expanded far westward and entered the present province of Ilubabor during the 17th century.³² The Maccaa groups Tume clans (*qomoo*) expand and settled the vast area between upper and lower Didhessa, Birbir and Baro Rivers. According to the view the Tumme clans interned to Ilu Abbaa Boor in two directions, through the east Wallaggaa (Arjoo *awraja*) crossing Didheessaa River and through Jimma crossing Gibe river as far as Baro River as openers of the forest called *daggalsaaqii*. The Tumme clans of Maccaa descendants who entered into Ilu Abbaa Boor through Arjoo (east Wallaggaa) crossing Didheessaa river valley were Birbirssoo, Daarimuu, Algee, Suphee and Buunnoo³³

These groups were settled the north and northwest of the province. But the second groups of Tumme clans those entered the province through Jimma crossing Gibe river valley and settled the eastern and south eastern province of Ilu Abbaa Boor were called Óooraa, Hadheessoo, Hurrumuu and Allee³⁴ The preceding nine Tumme Oromo clans who emerged during the beginning of the 17th century through Wallaggaa (the five clans) and through Jimma crossing Gibe River (the four) in one formed the nine Ilu clans called the Salgan Iluu. The two groups in one formed the confederacy of the Salgan Iluu (the nine Ilu's) and founded their separate central *Caffee* (assembly) at Odaa Doggii, on the main road about 40kms east of Mattuu in present Yayyoo district. In the course of time the clans further advanced in different direction giving birth to a number of descendant groups forming various minor clans (*balbala*).³⁵

According to Yasin Mohammed Óooraa was the first Tume clan to enter and settle in the present Cooraa district after whom the area was called. Hadhesso was the second clan who settled the current Yayyoo district crossing Gabbaa River valley and so continued by Hurrumuu clan after whom the current Hurumuu *wäräda* was named. The local informants also state that Allee was the last Tume clan to enter to settle Ilu Abbaa Boor from those clans who entered the province through the eastern part of the region (Jimma). According to the existing sources the Allee clan was one of the Tumme groups who settled the current Allee

³²Altemeyer Haile *etal*, *History of Oromo to The Sixteenth century*, Second Edition, (first Impetration Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau, Fifine 2006), pp .173-176.

³³Yasin, p.10.

³⁴*Ibd*, p. 9.

³⁵Informats: Yimamu Abdu, Mohamad, and Dheresa.

wäräda from whom the name of the *wäräda* derived.³⁶ Most of these Tumees have settled the eastern and south eastern and the most central part of the province.

On the other hand, the Tumees who entered the province through eastern Wallagga have settled the northern and the western part of province. According to the existing oral source confirmed that Bunnoo was the first to enter the province through Arjoo crossing Didheessaa River and settled the current Beddellee district. Algee, Daarimuu Birbirsoo and the Suphee clans were subsequently entered the province and settled the most part of the northern province of the area.³⁷ As time went on, these Oromo groups developed into minor sub-class called *balbalas*.

For instance, Hurrumuu gave births to three sons namely Igguu, Indooroo and Jirruu after whom the three Hurrumus (the sadden Hurrumuu) has been called. The suitability of the area had been the cause for the attraction of different ethnic groups. The Oromo of the region also known by their rich cultural assets provided guests with the warm welcome, and soon made them part and parcel of the host communities without any precondition. This conducive indigenous inclusive cultural ground provided the surrounding ethnic groups with the chance to move to the area. Therefore, in the study area, the Oromo had assimilated different non-Oromo ethnic groups and adopted Oromo culture and language. Since long ago, in the region under investigation, there have been people, who have a blood relationship with Kaffa people living with the Oromo population mostly in Yayyoo, Hurrmmuu and Dorannii *wärädas*. These peoples are called Inataro, Mixoo, Yem, Innawawo, Innamacho, Innosoo, Busase and others. These peoples are the Kaffa peoples who remain in the region during the settlement of the Oromo. Through time and again, these people have been relatively adopted themselves into the Oromo cultural values such as language, way of life style, etc.³⁸

From the above argument it is possible to argue that those non-Oromo ethnic groups had been left their ancestral culture, language, social, their indigenous knowledge and adopted or assimilated by Oromo ethnic ways of life. Furthermore, the introduction of the involuntary resettlement program had brought a significant change on the previous ethnic composition and cultural interactions. Such historical events sensed in the changes seen in economic and social affairs.

³⁶Yasin p. p9. Informants; Hassan Mohammad; Hassan Indiruis; Gazahagy Ambacha

³⁷ Habtamu Mamo “A History of Bedele Town, Illu Abba Boora Zone” (c. 1917-2007), (MA Thesis, JU, History 2007), p. 22.

³⁸Informants; Yimamu, Miressa, and Abadir.

Following the conquest, the south west Ethiopia in general and particular the study is small number of individuals came to the region became the events of the and the establishments of newbureaucracy. Accordingly, from Northern and central people immigrated to the southwest of the country and settled in Ilu Abbaa Boor region after Menilik conquest southwest in 1882. The opening of Gambélla in land port contributed for the emergence of newly internal market of Buree, Goree, Mattuu, and Noophaa.³⁹

In the 1904, again and again, there had been similar external migrants that moved to Ilu Babor crossing the boundary between Ethiopia and British-Sudan port. They had been more interested to the economic orbit of the Sudan. Those migrants were including Arabs, Greeks, Armenians, Indians, Armenia's, Britain and others. They were skillful laborers, entrepreneurs, and merchants, who established and worked on their own properties such as shops and houses operated in the new modern way of life. They also involved in trade activities that connected with the long caravan routes such as Goree, Gambélla-Sudan-Gambéla-Goree-Finfinee. They traded items like hide and skin, honey, coffee, *zibad*, elephant trunk, tiger and lion skins were the only export good.⁴⁰

After 1950, after 1941; the boom in coffee production in Ilu Abbaa Boor and commercialization and modernization of the economy; improved communication and the availability of much land for the purchase of imperial grants combined to produce favourable conditions for the rising price of coffee. In many cases there was a tendency for the labour migrants from Gojjam, South Gondar or Shewa to move first to Goree or other major centers such as Bedelle and Mattuu, in an effort to make contact with their follow country men (relatives) from whom they had obtained information about the leading coffee producing regions of Ilu Abbaa Boor and study areas. Then they tend to disperse to the coffee producing districts of Ilu Abbaa Boor, either independently or after being hired as labourers in Goree or other centers. A limited numbers of migrants stayed in Goree and Mattuu engaging them in fetching water and selling to the dwellers. These migrant labours were popularly identified by the local peoples by wearing shorts. In most cases these migrants after accumulating money; later they become inter into coffee production and trade.⁴¹

In the same region, there had been voluntary settlers transferred from Wallo and Amhara regions into the area under investigation. Later, post-1974, changes population pressure on

³⁹ Amiro, P.19.

⁴⁰ Amiro, p.21; Bahru, 2018, pp.75-94.

⁴¹ Informant: Yimamu, Mohammad and Demise.

the host (cultural, social, religious, economic, etc.) were brought by the introduction of the resettlement and villagization schemes into the study area. After the implementation of resettlement, during the *Därg* regime, settlers were added on the previous population size and accelerated the process of pulping in the study area. As a result, population interaction in the spheres of social, economic, cultural, etc intensified and had brought a significant change on the previous ethnic composition and cultural interactions.⁴²

Table 1: 1984 Population and Housing Census Result of Soor and Gabbaa districts

Sub Districts of The Awuraja	Number of populations by sex		
	Male	Female	Total
Darimu	30180	31176	61356
Matu	34910	35730	70640
Suphe Sodo	24753	26120	50873
Yayo-Hurumu	31807	33954	65761
Total	12,1650	126980	248630

Source: Central Statics Authority (CSA) 1984 population and housing cense primary report, vol, 1, Addis Ababa, p, 24.

The evidence in table 1 above reveals that the 1984 housing population and census result shows that the total population number reached 65,761. This implies that the study area was settled by significant number of populations even before the onset of the resettlement program.

1.2.5 Religion and Socio-political Institutions

In southwestern region in general and the study area in particular, during pre-Christian and Islamic expansion, people practiced indigenous religion, *Waaqeffannaa*, which was under the leadership of *Qaalluu*. On the other hand, people warshiped their God under the ceremony called *Irreecha Tulluu* (Thanks giving that is performed at the top of the mountain) during the wet season. *Irerecha Malka* refers to a place where people practiced the wrship by the rive ris ford.⁴³

The socio-political history of Oromo of Ilu Abbaa Boor in general and study area in particular has been organized and guided by indigenous egalitarian democratic system known

⁴² Informants: Yimamu, Gezagy Ambacha, Siraj and Mohammad.

⁴³Bartels, p.14.

as the *gadaa* system. The *gadaa* system has not only organized and guided the society but it controls the overall sociopolitical, economic and religious and cultural life of the people prior to the demise of the *gadaa* system following the incorporation of the province in to the Imperial rule.⁴⁴ Immediately after abandonment of the common *Caffee* of Odaa Bisili, the Tume clan of the Maccaa groups established their independent central assembly or *Caffee* at Odaa Doggii, in current Yaayyoo district on the main road some 10 killo meter east of Yaayyoo town.⁴⁵

Odaa Doggii was the central assembly where all representatives of the Tume clan elected their *Abba* Bokku and where the *gadaa* leaders (*Abbaa* Bokkuu) declare laws every eight years. In the assembly or the *Caffee* of Odaa Doggii has established by all the Tume Oromo clans and all represented according to the numbers of their clans (*qomoos*). Indeed, the central *Caffee* or the Doggi assembly was formed from 45 Oromo clans who were descended from Tume groups. Accordingly, Ćora represents with 8 seats, Yaayyoo had 9 seats; Buunnoo represented with 7 seats, Noonnoo had 6 seats, Hurumuu 3 seats, Mattuu 4 seats, Dorannii represented with 4, Suphe 2 seats, Bure 2 seats.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the attempt to upgrade politico-cultural significance of Odaa Doggii was minimal. It has been the living heritage. If it is developed or improved by the concerened bodies, ti will serve as academic center where elders teach the new generations about the knowleege how to deal with soial, political, economic, religious, cultural, etc. affairs.

In the social system of the Oromo of the study area every social activity should take place according to *safuu*. In the social system of the people respect for one another conducted according to the age structure. According to the social norms of the people *hangafaa* (elders) are respected regardless of social, economic, political, and religious or other else. *Safuu* is the major wisdom that controls the social balances of the people. In the social system of the Oromo of study area Moggaasaa and *guddifachaa* system has been the longstanding entity by which the non-Oromo groups have been assimilating to the Oromos⁴⁷. However, in the 20th century, the region was known by the expansion of Islam, Protestant, and Orthodox Christianity. Thus, the introduction of religious beliefs brought impact on the practice of

⁴⁴Informant: Kalifa Ragassa, Yimamu and Tesfaye.

⁴⁵Lamessa, p. 50.

⁴⁶Germew p. 6; informants: Assafa Mammo, Yimamu and Yimer Shamsu.

⁴⁷Informants: Abadir Nuru, yimamu, Badire Mohammad and Miressa.

indigenous worship system, which backed by the decline of the *gadaa* system due the incorporation of the region into the Ethiopian empire.⁴⁸

In fact, this may not work for the Oromos in general for the fact that the Oromos have been ruled by a type of decentralized egalitarian system called the *gadaa* system. However, the economic transformation from pastoralist to the sedentary agricultural system made by northern Borana groups of the Maccaa Oromos since the beginning of the 18th century was followed by the emergence of Aristocrat groups within the egalitarian communities. According, the first openers of the forest (*daggalsaaqii*) who controlled the vast agricultural land *qabiyyee* began to invest on the new land appearing rich man (*sooressa namaa*).⁴⁹ The development of agricultural product also followed with the rising demand for productive labor among the openers of the forest and they received new settlers whom they called Gabbaroo.⁵⁰

As time went on, two main social classes were emerged among the Macca Oromo whereby the *daggalsaaqii* said to be *warraguddaa* (the great family) whereas, the late comers (*gabbaroo*) said to have called *Warraxinnaa* (minor family)⁵¹. It was in such process that the *sooressa* groups gradually controlled the overall socioeconomic system giving birth to aristocrat groups. Apparently, the transformation of the Oromo egalitarian administrative system in to the modern centralized monarchical has took place in study area during the second half of the 19th century.⁵² The transformation of the egalitarian rule system was made when Caalii Shoonoo of Yaayyoo district from Hadheessoo clans refused to transfer *bokkuu* to the next *gadaa* ruling clans and declared monarchical system (ca.1860).⁵³ This time was not only the time when monarchy system was established but it also the time when *gadaa* system faced fate of decline.

⁴⁸Damise W/Mariam, "The protection of Minorities Under the Constitution of Oromia With Particular Reference to Ilu Abba Boora Zone" (Institution of Federalism and Legal Local Government, (Addis Abeba 2009), pp.81-83; *Ibid*.pp.14-15; Yasin, pp,81-89.

⁴⁹Alemayew Haile *History of Oromo to The Sixteenth century*, Second Edition, (first Impetration Oromia Culture and Ttourism Bureau, Fifine 2006), pp. 173-176.

⁵⁰Negaso Gidada, *The History of The 'Sayyo Oromo of the South Western Wollega, Ethiopia from about 1730-1886* (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia1984), p .76

⁵¹*Ibid*.

⁵² Melese, P. 35.

⁵³*Ibid*.

However, some sources claim that ‘the expansion and conquest of Menelik had significant contribution to weakening of the *gadaa* system, to destroy the Oromo cultural identity’.⁵⁴ Moreover, these sources need further analysis on the expansion and conquest of Menelik as literature argues otherwise.

⁵⁴Melese P.37.

CHAPTER TWO

2. RESETTLEMENT AND VILLAGIZATION

2.1. Resettlement Experience

Before we deal with the history of resettlement and villagization schemes in Gabbaa *awraja*, it is better to give a short definition for each term with the objective to avoid confusion in the minds of the material readers. It is also essential to present preliminary information on the two concepts with the intention to provide readers with the clear insight as how governments have proposed the two schemes to ensure their respective rural transformation projects said to be provided to the rural society better socio-economic services.

Therefore, the word resettlement refers to the movement of people from negatively geographical environment to less affected or ecologically favorable regions. The movement of people may cover a long-distance journey, in almost all cases, hundreds of kilometers.⁵⁵ On the other hand, the word resettlement is defined as the process of selection and transfer of people from the drought affected or naturally degraded areas into suitable geographical environment where people could restore their permanent residence status. Resettlement is also described as the program initiated and implemented by the authorized body or government, which collects people who have different sociocultural, historical, political and economic backgrounds.⁵⁶ Separately, the term resettlement is defined as a process undertaken to assist those displaced to replace their housing, assets, livelihoods, land, access to resources and services and restore their socio-economic and conditions to those levels existing prior to the project.⁵⁷

On the other hand, the word villagization is defined as the process of moving peasants, who traditionally lived in scattered homesteads to ‘villages. It has been defined as the act of the grouping of population into centralized planned settlements. It has been the action carried out by the concerned bodies that are responsible to move people at short distance from their previous residences into newly arranged villages, which may be laid out in straight lines, in a

⁵⁵Tesfaye, Tadesse (2007). *The Migration, Environment and Conflict Nexus in Ethiopia: A Case Study of Amhara Migrant-Settlers in East Wollega Zone*. OSSREA, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, (2007), p.10.

⁵⁶Daniel Gudina, “Resettlement and its Contribution to the Case of Gechi *Woreda* Chate Resettlement Site, Ilu Aba Bora Zone, Oromia Regional State Livelihood Improvement”, (MA Thesis, Arba Minch University, Geography and Environmental Study, 2018), p.6.

⁵⁷Derjew and Daniel, pp. 70-77.

grid pattern, but this is not always the case.⁵⁸ ‘Villagization is a matter of relocating people from their original settlement into villages, presumably looking to better socio-economic facilities and sort of formal national governmental programmed, i.e. the resettlement is undertaken by the state’.⁵⁹

Furthermore, villagization is much more complicated than a simply physical process of shifting people. Its rationale may be social, political, environmental, agricultural, militaristic, administrative, or a mix of several of these. The motivations for and methods of villagizations have differed between countries; likewise, the implementation and the experience of those villagized have differed considerably within countries.⁶⁰ For example, similarly, development forced displacement schemes were undertaken in China, India, Burma, Bangladesh, Indonesia, and etc. It is fair enough to cite development forced displacement or resettlement measure taken in China. Accordingly, between 1950 and 2000, in China, 45 million people were said to have displaced by different development projects. Like China, a range of 21 to 40 million people were displaced because of the construction of dam project.⁶¹ There has been a dam project undertaken in Pakistan with similar interest,⁶² which intended to achieve national or private development, and reduction of ethnic conflicts on scarce resources (water, place to live on, grass, etc.)⁶³ There have been the same development projects implemented in Europe and America. There were also the same development projects implemented in Southeast Asia.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ C.C Lorgen, “The Experience of Villagization: Lessons from Ethiopia, Mozambique, and Tanzania”, (Oxfam-GB, 1999), pp.14-15

⁵⁹ Grunditz, M “Is Villagization an Acceptable Solution? - An Analysis of Villagization Programmers’ in Ethiopia in Relation to the Fulfillment of State Obligations Under the ICESCR and the Concept of Self-Determination of Indigenous People”, (MA Thesis Lund University, Social History, 2015),p. 9.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*,p.13

⁶¹ Daniel, p.12

⁶² R. Azhar, “Resettlement in New Environment and Its Impacts on Socio-Cultural Values of the Affecters: A Case Study of Tarbela Dam, Pakistan.” *Journal of Geography & Natural Disasters* (DOI 2016), p.2.

⁶³ European Investment Bank (EIB) “Environmental and Social Standards”, Environment, Climate and Social Office Projects, (Directorate Version 2018), p.44.

⁶⁴ Daniel, p.12.

Referring the world experience, Azhar has discussed on the negative impacts brought by resettlement conducted in Pakistan in the following way:

...less attention has been paid to the social and cultural issues arising due to dislocation caused by these projects. Across the world it is now recognized that building of large dams costs a lot. About 40-80 million people have been involuntarily dislocated from their homes and lands due to the construction of dams. The first detailed independent evaluation of dams, prepared by World Commission on Dams, stated that in economic development dams have made an important contribution but, in many cases, too heavy a price has been paid by affected community to secure those benefits. The process of resettlement of affected people has not been remained satisfactory in most of the cases; so, people have risen against their construction. It has become a very crucial issue in the world and a lot of agitation generated against dams on individual and organizational level. Brun observed that displacement often leads to loss of home, possessions, and social networks. It also introduces the displaced persons to new places, people and environment. Construction of Tarbela dam coped the country's water and power needs. However, it submerged agriculture land and leads to innumerable sufferings of the displaced people.⁶⁵

The evidence above indicates that how the rise of national development agenda was becoming the cause for the distortion of the rural community life. Specially, the distortion on the rural life manly emanated from the interest to foster national development schemes like building mega projects such as electric dams, commercial farms, irrigation dams, etc. Therefore, the achievement the objectives of such giant development projects became the cause for forceful displacement of people from their ancestral cultural grounds without any compensation provision for their property.

Whatever the cause, the implementation of the resettlement schemes demands careful analysis, plan and delivery of social services supplies that could not affect the economic and social well-being of affected people, and the measure dose not to aggravate severe economic and social problems in the origin and host communities. This is because people are relocated to environments where their skills may be less applicable; and their finical income may not be sufficient to prevent the long-term need.⁶⁶

In Africa, the process of resettlement and villagization has been conducting depending on either to implement rural development schemes or to prevent citizens from the threat of natural disasters such as floods, drought, famine, etc. In the continent, the implementation of

⁶⁵ R. Azhar, "Resettlement in New Environment and Its Impacts on Socio-Cultural Values of the Affecters: A Case Study of Tarbela Dam, Pakistan." *Journal of Geography & Natural Disasters* (DOI 2016), p.2.

⁶⁶ E. I.B. P.44.

resettlement passed through two phases, namely, pre-independent period resettlement scheme, and post-independence period resettlement program. Therefore, in colonial times, in Africa, the first type of resettlement program was implemented in Egypt by colonial administrators, who forced people to move into module village that had been designed by colonial administrators.⁶⁷ There had been similar cause in French West Africa compared with other settlement colonies like Algeria for France or Australia for the United Kingdom (UK). In West Africa, European's settlers were said to have categorized in two groups: the civil servants on the one hand, and workers in the private sector on the second hand. In 1910, in French West Africa, there were a total of 7,610 settlers. In 1950, the number is progressively increased to 13,239 in 1925 and 53,087. French settlers were colonial governors, administrators, assistants, secretaries, teachers, school inspectors, doctors and nurses; agricultural engineers, traders, planters, civil engineers and construction engineers. Europeans were therefore expected to settle in densely populated areas as well as in trading posts for trade activities. There had been political (administration), economic (taxation, tribute, etc.) objectives that caused the initiation of the implementation of resettlement projects. The resettlement process was facilitated by the colonial states and local chiefs.⁶⁸

In Africa, development programmers have been implemented in many of independent African states such as Tanzania, Ghana, Mozambique and Zambia. In Zambia alone, the resettlement scheme, which associated with the Kariba dam, became the first to consider the social impacts of displacement for entire communities.⁶⁹ In many of those African countries, resettlement program has increasingly been proposed to secure a wide range of political, economic and social objectives. Thus, resettlement has been used primarily for repressive purposes, such as the early deportation of convicts to Australia or dissidents to Siberia, the removal of South African blacks from towns; or resettlement may have repressive consequences, for instance in slum clearances and evictions of urban unemployed.⁷⁰

⁶⁷E. Huillery, "The Impact of European Settlement within French West Africa: Did Pre-colonial Prosperous Areas Fall Behind?" *Journal of African Economies*, (2010), pp. 1–49.

⁶⁸Huillery, Pp.8 and 9, 13.

⁶⁹Habtamu Derbe, "The Process, Socio-Economic Impact and Ajudgment Challenges of Villagization Anywa Zone- Gambala Woreda", (MA Theses, Jimma University, Social History, 2018) , pp.9-11; L. Raschid-Sally, *et'al*, "The Resettlement Experience of Ghana Analyzed Via Case Studies of the Akosombo and Kpong Dams." *Paper Presented at the 9th Annual Symposium on Poverty Research in Sri Lanka Exploring Experiences of Resettlement*, (2008). P.8.

⁷⁰Gerum Taye, "Assessing the Rural Resettlement Programme in Ethiopia in meeting the Livelihood of the people: A Case Study of Metema yohanes Resettlement Scheme, in the Amhara National Regional State." (MA Thesis, Local and Regional Development (LRD), Netherlands, 2010), P.9.

In Ghana, the history of irrigation and hydro power dam constructions were traced back to the 1960s. Moreover, between the 1960s and 2011, in Ghana, there had been a series of dam construction projects implemented on the rivers, namely, Bui, Kpong, and Nam Theun II. For the purpose, the government intended to acquire lands for various activities in the discharge of its service. This became principal factors for the displacement of more than 1.2 million residents. Even though the government had introduced several compensations (restoration for lost assets, enhancement of livelihoods, and the provision of primary services) policy objectives, settlers did not be free from the disaster brought by the implementation of the projects. Unlike the other projects, the implementation of the Akosombo Dam on the Volta River was said to have brought serious resettlement problem. The dam caused a forced resettlement of 80,000 persons, but even today 40 years after, the issue has never been resolved with adequate solution.⁷¹

However, the government failed to maintain the disruption in social organization, and there was also failure to maintain the balance of benefits among citizens that obtained from the project. The failure to learn from the past, in Ghana, the implementation of the Bui dam project also brought a forced displacement about 2,000 persons. Compared to the Akosombo these numbers are negligible, but it does not appear as if systems and processes are in place to apply the lessons learned from the Akosombo knowledge and avoid a catastrophe. All the above crises would have been reduced if there had been open discussion between government and settlers. The affected persons had lost the chance to say something about their future; they did not provide a forum for expression, and participation to express their concerns for the success of the project objectives in account to their future survival in the new cultural environment, which was vulnerable to social, and health impacts brought by the implementation of the dams. In politic, it seems like to move people from their ancestral lands, so provide them with an alternative location and enough money to start life up again. This is emanated from the failure to take into consideration that sometimes people can't even continue with their original livelihoods for which they have been trained, and require rehabilitation.⁷²

Historically, in Africa, the practices of resettlement schemes failed to meet their goals. This is due to lack of adequate plan, and gradual development of projects through participation and discussion conducted between government and settlers, there was also lack of enough

⁷¹Lorgen, p.25.

⁷²Raschid, pp.3-5.

preparation to support the program with the provision of basic infrastructure and services at the new settlement sites. Besides, there was no any account given to the pastoralist groups, they remained without open land and water to support their cattle. There was also problem to give adequate compensation given to the lost property of the relocated settlers.⁷³

2.2. Resettlement during the Imperial Regime, 1950-1974

Since long ago, Ethiopia has been known the rise and fall of different political regimes. They have been differentiated by their politico-economic orientations, which practiced for the last hundred years. Moreover, in the twentieth century, in the country, there had been rapid population growth, fragmentation, and degradation of agricultural lands in the central and northern parts of the country.⁷⁴ For the first time during the imperial regime, an official land settlement plan was believed to have undertaken in the five-year plan in 1957-1961. The main objective related with agricultural modernization and to increase the area under cultivation. For example, the first settlement was conducted in Wolaita awraja in 1959. On the other hand, the third five-year plan was implemented between 1968 and 1973.⁷⁵

In the Soor and Gabbaa *awraja*, in the second half of the twentieth century, there had been small groups of people came from the northern and central Ethiopia and settled in the Warabboo and Kussi in the present day Dorannii, and the labor migration widely expanded to the districts of Yayyoo and Hurrumu and Dorannii. These voluntary settlements were somewhat different from labor migration in which they were planned voluntary by the groups without government initiation, and they settled on the land where they have got an access. The second type was planned settlement, in which the movement of the people and their resettlement was organized. During Imperial times, the government was reported to have supported a spontaneous type of land settlement as a measure to resolve the problem of the growing rural population to avoid land reform and to minimize large expenditure on agriculture. In most cases, from the north, Amara and Tigray were said to have encouraged settling in Oromo land. This was because the existence of vacant land in south west in genera

⁷³ Daniel, pp,70-71.

⁷⁴ Dessalegn Rahmato, "Moral Crusaders and Incipient Capitalists: Mechanized Agriculture and Its Critics in Ethiopia." Article in Third Annual Seminar (Addis Ababa University, 1985, p.72; Cernea, M. M., "An Original Contribution to Country-Wide Displacement Analysis", Article in Moving People in Ethiopia Development, Displacement and the State, (Great Britain, 2009), pp. xxxiv-xxxv. Daniel, P.15

⁷⁵ Yasin, p.196.

and study area in particular. Such type of land settlement aroused growing ethnic interaction and land use Pressure on the host peoples.⁷⁶

Since 1950, settlers have learned how to produce and change their socio-economic tradition from the host. Similarly, they provided the host with new cultural values and adopted the local cultural values such as living together, working together, communal resource administration culture, respect each other, establishment of social institutions valuable mean to secure common advantage.

Resettlement during the imperial regime designed to achieve specific and limited objectives. At that time state-sponsored-resettlement was largely undertaken to promote two objectives. This had been the grand cause for the occurrence of repetitive drought and famine, which caused extensive population displacement and socio-economic instabilities to rationalize land uses on government 'owned' land and thus raise state revenue⁷⁷In Ethiopia in general and southwestern region, where the study area part, in particular, prior to the eruption of the Socialist Revolution, the idea of resettlement scheme had never been given much attention. In Oromia, there had been an attempt that conducted by the Imperial regime to realize the process of forced population displacement scheme in Awash Valley region. The program ended with massive displacement of the pastoral communities from their pasture lands. As a result, the resettlement program faced various problems due to the lack of proper research regarding the resettlement sites and the risk control mechanisms.⁷⁸

Since 1968 resettlement program has been implemented for the objective to ensure development program through realization of infrastructure projects such as dams, highways, and irrigations schemes. Specially, in the country, there had been the practice of forced displacement development program conducted by the imperial regime in Awash Valley region, where the regime tried to expand mechanized agriculture in the Rift Valley regions (Hawassa, Arba Minch, Kaffa Abadir and the Malka- Seddi-Amibara farms. However, most of the state-owned farms have never been in a normal condition, and recommended that they be privatized as soon as possible. Later, commercial agriculture had been conducted by foreign companies; the most well-known were HVA and Tandaho Plantations. Local

⁷⁶ Desalegn, p.72; Cernea, pp. xxxiv-xxxv; Danel, p. 15; Lamessa, pp.27-28.

⁷⁷ Dessalegn, p.72; Cernea, pp. xxxiv-xxxv; Daniel, P.15.

⁷⁸ M.Grunditz, p.13.

investors and foreign capital were said to have invested in Arsi, Bale, Harar, and Wallaggaa and in Adamaa *wärädas*, etc.⁷⁹

Second objective the introduction of commercial agriculture on the basis of irrigation system (cotton and sugar plantation complex), was believed to have brought serious disaster on the Afar and Karayu-Oromo pastoralists. They were totally excluded from the new economic transformation scheme. Rather they were forced to evacuate their ancestral grazing grounds, which happened without conciliation and participation of them. There had been serious threat exerted on the displaced people (Afar and the Karayyuu), who forced to change their mode of life with reduction of the natural flooding of Awash River due to minimization of water volume, which was diverted and utilized by the plantations and other enterprises. As a result, the nomads have been forced to travel longer and longer distances in search of water since the expansion of modern agriculture in the Valley.⁸⁰

The other objective of resettlement became parts government planning from 1966 with the establishment of the Ministry of Land Reform and Administration in 1968. Consequently, in the third five-year development plan, published in 1968, settlement schemes were believed to have seen as necessary to relieve population pressure in the northern highlands, and to raise production by exploiting underdeveloped lands in the southwest of the country. Thus, between 1958 and 1974, 20,000 households (about 104,000 people) were said to have displaced from the north and resettled in the south, where land was plenty to raise production and rehabilitate people.⁸¹ The program brought ecological impacts. This manifested through the intensification of the process of deforestation, which, in turn, becomes the cause for soil erosion, loss of wild life, environmental pollution, the growth of population pressure and scarcity of resources and the possible rise of competition over the rare resources.

⁷⁹*Ibid*; Jems Currey, 2009 “Moving Peoples in Ethiopia” *The Effects Development Projects on The Karayu and Afar in The Mid- Awash Valley* Ed. By Ayelew Gebirel and Getachewb Kasa New York, USA, pp, 66-69.

⁸⁰ Desalegn, pp.78-79.

⁸¹ Ageru Shume, “Resettlement and its Aftermath in Metekel, North-west Ethiopia: Ca. 1985-2009”, (MA Thesis, Jimma University, 2017, History), pp.8-10; James Currey, “Moving Peoples in Ethiopia” *Migration, Resettlement and Displacement in Ethiopia A Historical and Spatial Overview*. Edited by Franquet and Alula Pankhrst, Rochester, New York, USA, pp, 9-10; Shumete Gizaw, “Resettlement Revisited: The Post-Resettlement Assessment in Biftu Jalala Resettlement Site.” *EJBE* Vol. 3 No. 1, (Geography and Environment, Della University, 2013), p.23; Gerum, p.17; Desalegn Ramato, “Resettlement in Ethiopia The Tragedy of Population Relocation in 1980s” FSS, Discussion Paper, No, 11 (Forum of Social Studies Addis Ababa, 2003), pp.1-7.

There were planned settlement programmers which had been proposed by the imperial government as a response to extreme land degradation and recurrent drought-induced famine. Thus, a relatively small number of northern peasants were settled in western Ethiopia and the Rift Valley areas, where there are low population densities and unutilized but potentially productive and risk-free lands. There had been plan of voluntary resettlement went back to 1958, when the government established the first known planned resettlement in Sidamo in general and Walaita in particular.⁸² According to some studies, in Ethiopia, up until the 1974 revolution, some 10000 households had been resettled at a very high cost of eight million US dollars.⁸³

2.3. Resettlement during the *Därg* Regime, 1974-1991

Since the eruption of the 1974 revolution, different measures have been undertaken by the new regime with the intention to ensure the rural transformation schemes. Following the down fall of the imperial regime, the new government introduced more detailed and planned resttlemnt scheme, which conducted through authorized body. For the pourpose, in 1976, Settlement Authority (SA) was established. In 1979, the Awash Valley Devolpment Authority (AVDA), and the old Relif Rehabilitation Commision was set up with the objective conduct observation the success of the scheme throughout the country.⁸⁴

The basic rational to design the policy in relation of resettlement *Därg* flowed or unsound estimate of unutilized land resource found in the south west of the country'. Moreover, post-1974, the recurrence of drought, in the country, was forced the military government to launch more resettlement schemes. Program implementation conducted under the support of the then Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC) and Ministry of Agriculture within ten years prior, some 46000 households comprising about 187000 people were believed to have resettled in 88 sites and in 11 administrative regions of the country. By 1982, there were 112 planned settlements populated by more than 120, 000 people in different parts of the country. The practice, however, reached its apogee right in the aftermath of the 1984/5 "Great Famine" during which the military regime has initiated the Emergency Phase of Resettlement between 1984 and 1986. Despite an original target of moving a million and a half people to the resettlement areas, the actual number of resettles when the campaign came to an end in

⁸²Yasin, .96.

⁸³Yassin, pp.96-97; Piguët François & Pankhurst, Alula. "Migration, Resettlement and Displacement in Ethiopia. A Historical and Spatial Overview." *Article in Moving People in Ethiopia Development, Displacement and the State*, by Alula Pankhurst & François Piguët, Woodbridge: James Currey, (Great Britain, 2009), p.9; Getahun, pp.70-71.

⁸⁴ Yasin, p.198.

February 1985 was believed to have been about 600000- in itself a very large-scale operation.⁸⁵

The *Därg* resettlement program characterized with violation of human rights. Settlers have never been consulted about the relevancy of the program. The very nature of program implementation was dominated by the top-bottom approach, which gave no chance for settlers to decide about their future. The regime intended to overcome natural disaster with the expense of nature itself. From the initial, there was no detail investigation and selection of sites, which supported settlers with the provision of basic life requirements such as pure water, fire wood, and grazing lands. In contrast to this, there was risk control system developed to minimize the disaster resulted from the process of resettlement. There have been distractions brought on the natural resources, and the host cultural values also affected due to unlimited work burden brought by the process of resettlement.

In most cases, resettlement program preferred as a long-lasting solution to the hard-passed peasantry, and particularly to the population living in the drought prone areas of northern Ethiopia. Before the relocation program conducted from drought affected area (Tigray and Wallo) government and other concerned bodies initiated three main options. These include remaining on the land looking for work; seeking assistance elsewhere from relatives, and seeking assistance from external aid. However, the three-option failed because people were forced to sell their assets; there had been shortage of labor opportunity; the dependency rate on relatives was increased; dependency on aid camps was aggravated death rate and transmitted disease. As a result, settlement measure was opted by the regime.⁸⁶

During the first phase people from drought affected regions of Tigray, Wallo, Showa and parts of Gojam were forcibly transferred to southwestern Ethiopia, Wallagga, Ilu Abbaa Boor and Kaffa where study area part and the second phase resettlement in matakal, Assosa and Gambela. Accordingly, between 1984 and 1985, about 343,000 households (about 1.5 million people) were said to have resettled in the region.⁸⁷ When the problem reached at

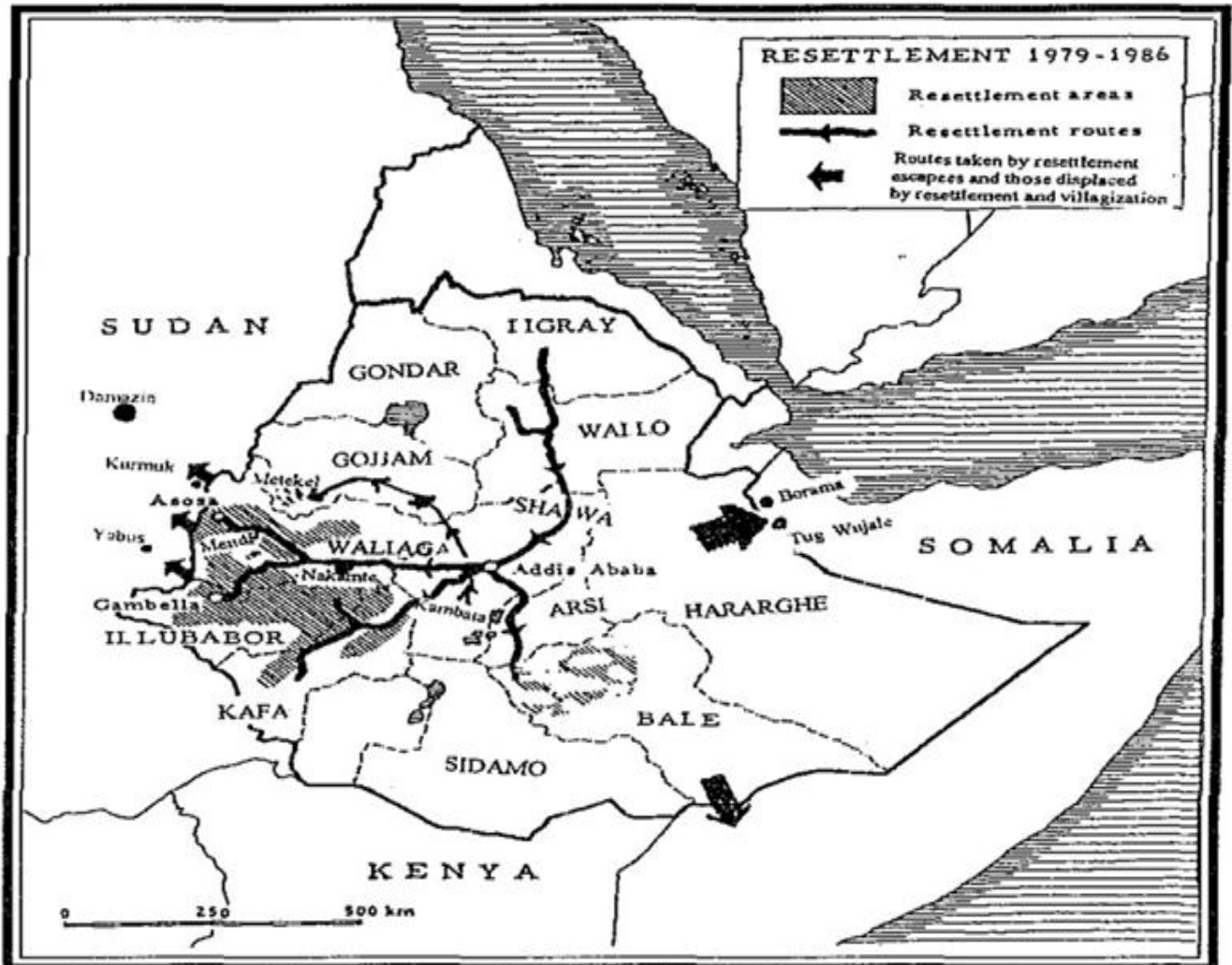
⁸⁵ C. Clapham, "Rewriting Ethiopian History *Annales d'Ethiopie, Année*", *Article*, Vol. 18, No. 1, (1988), p.192 ;Daniel, P. 17.

⁸⁶Alula Punkrust, *Resettlement and Famine in Ethiopia The Villager's Experience* (Manchester University press, New York,1992) p.49

⁸⁷Mekuria Bulcha "Famine as an Instrument for Nation-Building and State Consolidation: Ethiopia's Resettlement and Villagization Programmes of 1978-1991 in Retrospect." *The Journal of Oromo Studies* Vol. 8, No. 1 and 2, (2001), Middle State University, Peress, (2001) pp.11-154.

serious stage, forceful displacement intensified. From market places, people were forcefully taken to the resettle sites of southwestern Ethiopia, mainly in the study area.⁸⁸

Map 3: Pre-1991, Ethiopian map



Gojam, Wallggaa, Ilu Abbaa Boor, Gambélla, and Kaffa in general and the study area in particular. The evidence above indicates that how southwestern Ethiopia was largely settled by people came from the nourth drought raiden areas.

⁸⁸ Ageru Shume, Resettlement and Its Aftermath in Matakal, Northwest Ethiopia: ca. 1985-2009, (MA Thesisi Jimma University, History, 2017), p. 11. Informants: Kebede; Hagos; Yimamu.

Table 2: Location of Settlement Site in Ethiopia

The first settlement site	Areas of origins of new settlers	New Conventional Settlement areas	New integrated settlement areas
Humara	Akxum	Cilgga	Buno Bedele
Dabit	Agame	Dila	Gimbi
Matama	Adawa	Qeto	Horo Guduru
Chilga	Hulet Awulalo	Metekel	Kafa
Harawa	Indarta Azabo	Hangar	Gimira
Mlka	Raya and Qobo	Gambela	Mocha
Gode	Lasta	Jarso	Gore
Dila	Yeju,	-	Soor and Gaba
Horole	Dubit	-	Jimma
Gurage	Ambasal	-	Nakamte
Qeto	Dase Zuriya	-	-
Asosa	Qalu	-	-
Angar	Warra Ilu	-	-
Chebo, Gawane	Yifat	-	-
Mtamma	Tagulet	-	-

Source: Alula, P. 16.

The evidence indicates how different regimes (imperial and military) were conducted successive resettlement schemes in the region. Each regime has had its own cause for the raise of the program. But, southwestern Ethiopia in general and the study area in particular became the only sit selected to promote the resettlement programs. From the imperial period resettlement program, the *Därg* resettlement differce in that the program consisted of two type's conventional and integrated approaches.

On the other hand, the resettlements involved some elements of planning and control as well. The implementation of the program, in Hararge, scheme was believed to have initiated to counter or to disclose the acts by the insurgent groups, which implemented to combat the activities of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), and as such, was conceived in a military manner. Similar experience was undertaken in Arsi where village site selection determined on the basis of the interest to consolidate the security system or defense rather than access to social services such as water, road, electricity, hospital, education, hotel, restaurant, etc.

Settlers were provided with little attention, and lost the chance to get adequate supplies like water, fuel wood, and pastures for their cattle, etc. Consequently, lack of adequate food supplies and shortage of other life necessities exposed settlers to sanitation problem. This was because village sites had been selected by urban officials with little attention to the knowledge of the rural people, who simply forced to construct houses, moving from an old and perhaps long-established locality to closeness to others raised concerns about the risk of fire and the spread of infectious diseases without having any means to reduce the disaster caused by nature or human action. Thus, farmers have constructed houses that lacked of privacy from neighbors required adjustment; and they were also forced to abandon their ancestral cultural grounds and encouraged to adopt new settlement areas, which encountered with their original identities. In contrast to this, there was no villagization program implemented in the north, where the insurgents had imposed serious impact on the then military regime.⁸⁹

Furthermore, resettlement emerged as one of the *Därg's* emergency policies to address the famine, to pursue social and economic changes. But the regime had intended to carry out resettlement in stages over a longer period of time, but the drought necessitated a rapid implementation of the program. Some familiar with the regime's development plan instead saw this as a calculated act to gain political advantage from the crisis.⁹⁰

As it is indicated above in chapter two, in history, since long ago, in Ethiopia, climatic change has been perceived as principal factor for the occurrence of extensive drought and famine. As a result, people had faced food shortage, which was, in turn, exposed people to the occurrence of malnutrition and disease, which demanded the newly emerged political group to search solution and overcome the problem. In addressing this problem, the country has developed and been exercising arrays of development polices and strategies among which resettlement is one to be mentioned. Resettlement as a policy practice has been used to attain various objectives with different successes and bad stories.⁹¹

Resettlement scheme without the consent of the rural communities remained without success because the program initiated without adequate preparation of settlement sites, roads, houses, and other services centers. There had been forceful displacement of people from their cultural

⁸⁹Lorgen, pp.13-14.

⁹⁰Pankhurst, *et'al.*, pp.12-15.

⁹¹ Shumete, P.26; Sisay Takele, "Evaluation Report on Loma-Genna Water Supply, Hygiene & Sanitation Project", *Implemented by: Inter Aide Funded by: AESN, MEDD & City of Paris*, (Article, 2009), P. 32.

ancestral ground. The intervention of political agenda was also another weak point of the process of the resettlement program.⁹²

However, the program remained without success. Government also failed to fulfill the promise that has been designed at the first phase of the program initiation. Mainly, the *Därg* period resettlement program was imposed serious burden on the host people. People have been forced to engage in different group activities such as house construction, and food provision, etc.⁹³In contrast to this, settlers were benefitted from the implementation of the program. First, they have got chance to work on the fertile land, and began to maximize their products and support their household livelihood. Second, they have got chance to the access of some social services like school, health centers, water, road, etc. Third, they have got chance to create extensive social, economic benefits etc., interaction with the host people and their surroundings.⁹⁴

In the first half of the 19th century, there had been significant numbers of emperors, who exchanged on political power with their unique national development policies. Such political-economic dynamism paved the way for the rise of a military junta in the 1970s. This followed by the rise of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) regime, which took power in the 1991 with the former Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, who proposed voluntary type resettlement program, and attempted to make the reverse on the past involuntary resettlement schemes that had been conducted by the military and imperial regimes in the country with the objective to ensure food security. It was planned to be conducted within the regions in voluntary basis and compensation.⁹⁵

2.4. Resettlement Program in the Study Area

2.4.1 Push and Pull Factors

In Ethiopia, as it has stated above, since the imperial times, the interest to resettlement project has been connected with recurrent famine, drought, food insecurity and population pressure, which are said to be some of the pushing factors that derive the project to be undertaken. In Ethiopia, the objective of the resettlement scheme was caused by three important pushing

⁹²Desalegn Rhmeto “Resettlement in Ethiopia the Tragedy of Population Relocation in the 1980.” *Forum of Social Studies SS Discussion Paper* No.11, 2003, pp.9-10.

⁹³Informants: Yimamu; Yirga Habte; Bekele.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*

⁹⁵Maria Grunditz “Is villagizations an Acceptable SolutionAn Analysis of villagizations programmers’ in Ethiopia in Relation to the Fulfillment of State Obligations Under the ICESCR and the Concept of Self-determination of Indigenous People”, (Master Thesis, Lund University, Law, 2015), p.4; Daniel, pp.17-18.

factors. The first was the land reform of 1975 which made public land available for resettlement purposes. Second successive occurrence of famine became, 'push factor' in the north, which demanded a long-term solution in the form of embarking on resettlement and the hidden political agenda of the north. This means, since 1960s, there have been political encroachment affected the political environment of the region. As a result, the *Därg* government faced serious challenge to implement resettlement program. Resettlement of people was more of related with the episodes like land degradation and population pressure; a system of land tenure which led to fragmentation of holdings, evictions resulting from the establishment of large mechanized estates and periodic and increasing incidence of famine.⁹⁶ On the other hand, pulling factors were identified as availability of conducive natural resources and climate in the study area. On the other hand, the existence of suitable environment composed of favorable climatic condition, fertile soil, under-populated, and underexploited, and more productive ecological setting.⁹⁷

2.5. The Process of Resettlement

Since the eruption of the 1974 revolution, different measures have been undertaken by the new regime with the intention to ensure the rural transformation schemes and 1982, there were 112 planned settlements populated by more than 120, 000 people in different parts of the country. The practice, however, reached its apogee right in the aftermath of the 1984/5 "Great Famine" during which the military regime has initiated the Emergency Phase of Resettlement between 1984/5. The military regime incited the resettlement program during the emergence period from drought affected area to ecologically fertile areas of the south west Ethiopia in general and particularly in the study area.

By early 1984, the famine had spread to parts of the southern highlands, with an estimated 5.8 million people dependent on relief food. Northern Ethiopia affected by the shortage of fertile soil and adequate rainfall to support agriculture. People failed to produce enough substance to support their daily livelihood. All these brought famine and violation of human rights and put the nation's economy into a state of collapse. The primary government response to the drought and famine was the decision to uproot large numbers of peasants

⁹⁶Alula, Pp,14-15; Informants: Yemame Abdu, Kebde Dosegn, and Hagose halefom.

⁹⁷Derese Getachew "Resettling the Discourse on Resettlement Schemes Towards a new approach"; *Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, ed. by Svein Ege, Harald Aspen, Birhanu Teferra and Shiferaw Bekele, Trondheim (2009), pp.867 – 871.

from the north (Tigray, Wallo, Eritrea, etc.) to southwest less populated areas. The regime intended to cope the crisis through the implementation of the resettlement program.⁹⁸

In regard the reason for the emergency of resettlement program, there had been several events. These include the need to address the food security crisis that caused by drought in the highland regions of Ethiopia, which affected by the recurrent drought, and aggravated by the wave death and migration, the government had been followed three strategies before the relocation program started to south west to cope famine in the original palace. The three main strategies were; remaining on the land, looking wage Labour, seeking assistance from relative ales ware. However, alternative social constraints which led the cycle of dependence to cope famine had rejected no option but to resettle.⁹⁹

In 1984/85 southwestern lowland regions of Wallaggaa, Ilu Abbaa Boor, Kaffa, Gojam the country, experienced with the existence of low population density. Moreover, the government incited the region endowed with immense natural resources (fertile soil, forest, water, etc.), which provided the regime with the fertile ground to move people from Wallo, Tigray, Gojjam, Gonder, etc., settle them in to the region wall and the operation were placed conventional settlement in the region. There had been thousands of adults, government Cadire, and university and College's students went to Gambella in Ilu Abbaa Boor in general particular from yayyoo, Dorannii and Hurrumu districts hundreds of them participated in preparation house construction in Tata, Punndo and Itang and other districts of Gambella before the arrival of settlers in the lowlands¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Henze, P.B. *Ethiopia in Mengistu's Final Year*. The Derg in Decline Vol.I. Shama, (Addis Ababa, 2007), p.31.

⁹⁹ Alula, p. 49.

¹⁰⁰ Daniel, P.17; informants: Getacho Hile, Bekele and Ali Adam.

Table 3: Region of Resettlement and Region of Origin

Region of resettlement			Region of origin					
Region	Settler	%	Wollo	%	Shewa	%	Tigray	%
Wellegga	253,282	42.7	220,636	87.1	11,279	4.4	21,367	8.4
Ilubabor	146,216	24.7	72,226	49.4	28,275	26.2	45,715	31.2
Gojjam	101,216	17.1	29,839	29.5	54,858	54.2	-	-
Kefa	79,838	13.4	50,690	63.5	6,514	8.1	22,634	28.3
Gonder	6,397	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shewa	6149	1.0	-		6,149	18	-	15.2
Total	593,004	100.0	373,392	63.0	107,075	100	89,716	83.1

Source: Alula Pankhurst, p.56

The above tabular information reveals that the second largest number of settlers was settled in Wallaggaa followed by Ilu Abbaa Boor province. Settlers from Wallo, Shawa and Tigray settled in Ilu Abbaa Boor region and the study area was exposed to host large number of settlers due to its natural endowment which attracted the regime to implement the resettlement program there. The resettlement program in Ilu Abbaa Boor did not conducive for settlement. The process was conducted through the participation of all peasant associations in construction of houses for settlers who come from Wallo, Shawa, and Tigray. During 1985, there was no good crop harvest due to bad weather condition. As a result, settlers were depended on government support until they began support on themselves. Generally, the resettlement brought environmental impact which includes the expansion of deforestation.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Yasin, pp. 98-200.

Table 4 : Settlers' Move from their Origin to their Destination, 1984-1985

	Wollo			Tigray			Shawa			Total		
	Heads of households	Depends	Total	Heads of households	Depends	Total	Heads of households	Depends	Total	Heads of households	Depends	Total
Ilu Abbaa Boor	25509	46717	72226	21343	24372	45715	8907	19368	28275	55759	90457	146216
Wallagga	69489	151147	220636	12472	8895	21367	3648	7631	11279	85609	167673	253282
Kaffa	19418	32313	51731	7576	15058	22634	2977	3692	6669	29971	51063	81034
Gojam	10981	18858	29839				15332	36526	54858	29657	71465	84697
Shawa							2505	3644	6149	2505	3644	6149
Total	125397	249035	374432	41391	48325	89716	33369	73861	107230	205684	388506	571378

Source: Bekele, 2016, P. 73.

The above tabular information reveals that the second largest numbers of household's settlers were settled in Wallagga followed by Ilu Abbaa Boor province's settlers from Wallo, Shawa and Tigray settled in Ilu Abbaa Boor region in general and Gabbaa region in particular. In Ilu Abbaa Boor in general and the study area in particular, 25,509 heads of households and 46,717 dependants were transferred from Wallo, Shawa and Tigray and settled in the region under investigation. Whatever the case, the process of resettlement needs to fulfill some preliminary activities such as understanding of local expectations and desires; establishing the resettlement project team; collecting reliable data about in regard the number and types of people to be resettled; the socio-economic situation of the affected community (including their health, education, skills, etc.); development of the Resettlement Action Plan; Implementation and handover that include the construction of resettlement housing and related infrastructure; livelihood restoration; monitoring and evaluation. However, the

process of resettlement or villagization should not be free from the occurrence of social, economic, cultural, religious, ecological, etc., stresses.¹⁰²

2.6. Social Awareness about the Resettlement Program

The process of resettlement, in 1984, was begun in Yayyoo, Hurrumuu and Dorannii, with the introduction of proclamation by the central government on the behalf of then incident or drought or *faimne*.¹⁰³ Before settler relocation program was started from drought affected area, successive trainings were given to different professionals including agricultural office and health extension workers, these training offered for the *qäbälé* (the least administrative unit) chairpersons and various members of committee they also offered training to the youth associations, Peasant associations, women associations, teachers and other urban dwellers to ensure the success of the resettlement program.¹⁰⁴

The contents of the trainings focused on as how to develop public awareness on the purpose and implementation of the resettlement schemes, identify settlement sites, preparation of houses for settlers and generally to persuade recipient communities. This was followed by selection of settlement sites, some of which covered by forest, and others were more of plateaus in nature. Next, the process extended to the preparation for house construction for settlers. This carried out by local materials that were available in the area. In the process, different associations were involved. These were Youth Association, Peasant Associations, Teachers Associations, Urban Dwellers Association, and students. The process of house construction was conducted through labor divisions among the above associations. Thus, women allocated to bring grasses, men assigned to bring construction material from the forest, elders prepared wedges, artisans assigned to prepare slashes, sickles, axes, dinging equipment, etc. There had been preparation of house utensils for settlers. Accordingly, people assigned to bring grinding stone from Gabbaa, Doggii, and Saakii forest areas. Each house provided with one grinding stone. Food preparation house utensils also collected from the recipient communities and distributed into each household level. Fire wood also collected and made ready for settlers.¹⁰⁵

The program did not have public support. The whole process exposed to the government forceful intervention. From the beginning, participation of the host people for the success of

¹⁰²V.Frank, "Project-induced Displacement and Resettlement", Impact Assessment and Project Appraisal (University of Groningen, Social History, 2017), pp.6- 8.

¹⁰³ Informants: Yimamu, Abdu, Bekele, Yirda Habte and Yimer Shamsu.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

the program did not get account. There was miss-use of resources in the course of house construction. Resource transportation also lacked support from adequate car service. Human labor was the basic source of energy used to demolish and consturct houses. Transportation of rabish matrials to the newly build villages was exposed people for the threat of inflonza viris.

Figure 2: Houses Built by Peasant Associations for Settlers in 1985



Generated by CamScanner from intsig.com

Source: Yayyoo Agricultur Office, 2020

The above figure shows that, house construction was conducted through labor requirements among the above associations which was provided at each house holds in the study area. After pre-condition was accomplished, in all peasant associations supervision was conducted by *Därg* cadre to take house preparation hand over at each *qäbälé*¹⁰⁶ .

Government began to move settlers from the drought affected region of Tigray in 1986 and many bilateral states in the world were involved in transportation of settler from region to southwest in general and particularly to the study area, and provided it with transport service. In this regard, it is fair enough to cite the Soviet Union, which transported settlers by airplanetransport from Tigray to Addis Ababa and other's by government buses and lorries transported to the rests of other parts the country and south west in general and particularly to the study area in particular.¹⁰⁷ Oral informants confirm that from the beginning, settler from drought affected region had been forcefully conscripted from marketplace and aid camp by military forces some of them separated from their family members and relatives, other settler forcefully dislocated from their ancestral lands were the other events of the day.¹⁰⁸

Oral's informants confirmed that government transported settler from Agame *awraja*, Maychew, Wegrat, Wuqro *awrajas* and Mokoni *wäräds* by airplane and landed in Addis Ababa; and others settlers were moved from Seqota, Yajuu, Ambasel to Kalu *awrajas* and Harbuu *wäräda* were arrived Kombolcha. The movement again begun from Dessie, then to Debr Brhan and were exhausted longhorns' journey; arrived Adis Ababa to Bedele and arrived specific study area.¹⁰⁹ Consequently, during the first phase emergency resettlement program the government relocated settler from draught affected region Tigray, Wallo and Showa to Ilu Abbaa Boor in general and study area in parts. Accordingly, 55759 heads of households and 90457 dependents from Tigray, Wallo and Showa to different settlement site including Yayyoo, Dorannii and Hurrumuu.¹¹⁰

Oral's informants confirmed that, estimated the number settlers were transported by 120 buses, each with 65 passengers carrying capacity; this is estimated as 65x120 comes 7800 number of arrived in Yaayyoo, Hurrumuu and Dorannii districts. There were others come from Mattuu quota resettled in Hurrumuu. Others were also come from Wallaggaa quota settled in Yayyoo district. Similarly, in Dorannii, 90 buses settlers were arrived. This is equal

¹⁰⁶ Informants: Yimamu, Abdu, Bekele, Yirda Habte and Yimer Shamsu.

¹⁰⁷ Makura, p. 116.

¹⁰⁸ Informants: Badire, Alamu Ragasa, Madine and Hagos.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Bekele, P.73.

to 6100 settlers settled in the area. Other settlers were come from Algee-Sachii, Suphe, and Wallaggaa quota distributed in Dorannii resettlement sites.¹¹¹ The process was carried out by the *Därg* regime recognition. However, there had been gradual movement of settlers within the system with the objective to find their relatives or parents.¹¹²

2. 7. Implementation of Resettlement Program in the Study Area

There had been preparation conducted to receive settlers warmly at each district and peasant associations by cadre, WPE, different sectors by preparing food social provision and other materials. The process was guided by the Gabbaa *awraja* the resettlement coordinating committee, which organized from different sectors and became responsible organ to mobilize things for the success of preparing mails before the settler end their destination and distributed at each kebeles according to the quota given for each peasant association¹¹³ Settlers who had come from Tigray, Wallo and Agaw regions, and Wuqro *awraja* arrived Ordin-Ongoo, Doonii, Leeqaa, Kamboo, Boranaa, and Abbiyyuu *qäbälé* separately. Others arrived in Gerii, *qäbälé* Yamboo Darmaa, Kamisee, Bachoo, Aciboo-*Zuriiya* distributed to settlement site of Yaayyoo *qäbälès* and warmly received by local peasant association.¹¹⁴

On the other, hand, Agaw, Raayya, were arrived Cooraa, Sobirand Bachoo. On the other hand, Tigre and Wallo were arrived in Konch-Ina-Gabbaa, Qereesii, Eramii, Baaroo, Cooraa, Toma-Yobii, Gabbaa, Gondera, Kemisee, Ordin, and Chebera, and those had come from Agame and Wukro *awraja* were distributed to settlement site Hurrumu *qäbälé*. Settlers who had come from Wollo, Ambassel *awraja* arrived Rob-Gäbäya, Oggee, Oge-warabo, Kerassi, Erami, and Baaroo *qäbälé* were arrived in Dorannii district at each *qäbälé*. On the other hand, Settlers how had come from Tigray were arrived Dorannii *wäräda* in Fani-Shoshe, Haroo-Malakkaa, Hodhaa, Chabarii and Hadaree then distributed to their settlement site or *qäbälé* the other hand, settlers from Raayyaa were arrived Kusayee, Siree-Cocittii, Machallee, Badeessaa, Warabbboo, and Bachoo *qäbälé*. Agaw settlers together with Tigray settlers were settled in Batallii, Geddaa-Janjaro, Siree-Gorgis, and Haroo Malakkaa *qäbälé*.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Informant: Yimamu, Gezagi and Siraj.

¹¹² Informants: Miressaa; Bekele; Badire and Yimamu.

¹¹³ *Ibid*

¹¹⁴ Informants: Miressa, Mohammad; Dheressa, Hagos, and Teklay.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*.

Table 5: Number of Settlers by the Sub-Districts of Soor and Gabbaa Awraja

Name of district	No. of settled quotas	Settler in %
Yaayoo-Hurumu	9,220	26.93
Dornni	7,984	23.32
Supe-Sodo	3,750	10.95
Matu	6,262	18.29
Darimu	3,318	9.69
Nopha	3,706	10.82
Total	3, 4240	100

Source: Lemessa Bekele, 2007, p .33

Information in table indicates that the study areas were settled by significant numbers of settlers compared to the six districts, the study area takes 50 percent settler, which seriously exposed to shoulder high population pressure on the pre-existing natural resources, which later exposed to miss-use and unthinkable degradation.

2.8. Type of Resettlement

According to Alula, two types of resettlements were conducted. These include integrated or *Segsäga* and *mädäcñña* (onventional resettlements.) Of these, integrated or *Segsäga* resettlement was conducted on the highlands of Wallaggaa, Kaffa and Ilu Abbaa Boor in general and in some parts of the study area part. The objective was to fulfill the empty space and to insert in the existing settlement in peasant associations. According to archival source, there had been the integrated type of resettlement or in Amharic *Segsäga* or shuffling undertaken in the area under investigation. The implementation of such schemes has been carried out by the local peasant associations. RRC, food, provided with agricultural equipment by the Rehabilitation Program. The was to assisted by local peasant association in preparation of housing and provision of food, oxen, farm support and again the emergency resettlement schemes, which implemented under the supports of the then RRC. On the other hand, the conventional type of resettlement was implemented in the low area of Wallaggaa, Kaffa and Ilu Abbaa Boor. This was new resettlement scheme without the intervention of

peasant associations. Both provided with agricultural equipment and seeds by the Relief and Rehabilitation commission.¹¹⁶

Table 6: Type of Resettlement

Receiving Areas	Integrated	Conventional	Articulated	Total
Wollaga	84,615	158837	9830	2532 82
Ilubabor	93515	52698	Not mention	146216
Kafa	81034	-	-	81034
Gojam	-	101123	-	101123
Gondar	6387	-	-	6387
Shawa	-	-	6149	6149
Total	312658	265554	15979	594191

Source: Desalegn Ramato, 2003, p. 65

The table shows that receiving Areas the Wallagga and Ilu Abbaa Boor were implemented both integrated and Conventional type resettlement. The objective was too assisted by local peasant association in preparation of housing and provision of food, oxen, farm support and again the emergency resettlement schemes, which implemented under the supports of the then RRC.¹¹⁷

The implementation of resettlement, during the *Därg* regime, settlers in the study area added on the previous population size and accelerated the process of peopling in the study area. As a result, population interaction in the spheres of social, economic, cultural, etc., intensified and had brought a significant change on the previous ethnic composition.¹¹⁸

2.9. The Role of the Host Communities

Informants confirmed that there had been preparation to host communities of each *qäbälé* to warmly well-come in the *wäräda* and transportation an old age men's and women by horses and mule and curing their equipment's from *wäräda* to peasant association. Consequently, after settlers arrived to settlement site each *qäbälé* recived settler byproviding food, coffee cloth, house hold furniture for each household. The process was guided by the Gabbaa *awraja* the resettlement coordinating committee and leaders of peasant association which organized form different sectors and became responsible organ to mobilize things for the

¹¹⁶Alula, pp.61-63; Kasa Belay,2004, "Resettlements of Peasants in Ethiopia" *Journal of Rural development* 27,223-253, Koria Rural Economic Institute p, 12; informants: Hagos, Madine, and Aregawi.

¹¹⁷Alula, P. 63.

¹¹⁸ Informants: Yimamu; Gezagy Ambacha; Siraj and Mohammad.

success of providing food before the settlers reach their destination.¹¹⁹ All the peasant associations within a *wäräda* were to delegate representatives who would come together and establish a Higher Association at the *wäräda* level, and all the Higher Associations within an *awraja* would delegate representatives who would come together and form the *awraja* Peasant Association with the objective to implement the program.¹²⁰ The attempts were done to facilitate the resettlement program. Each group became responsible to accomplish its own duty for the purpose to support the process of resettlement program in the study area.

Thus, during the arrival of settlers to the particular site, each household was said to have been provided with two hectares of arable land, household utensils, seed, agricultural tools like sickle, plough and hoe, grass and wood to construct a house including about 500 of homestead land, oxen or money with fellow partners, and food aid for one year were some of the starter packets provided per household by the government. Peasant associations played a part in selection and giving farm support for settlers in Gabbaa *awraja*. In fact, the provision of ox was in such a way that one pair of oxen is shared between four households among which two of them own the pair of oxen and the remaining two were received about 120 birr each instead of an ox. Actually, this money is also paid back for the owners of the oxen in the group whom they plough the farming land in return.¹²¹

According to the oral informants there had been change and continuity on the per existence of population number on the host, pressure on land and ecological disturbance which existed after implementation of the resettlement program in the study area. However, from the implementation of the program settlers revived from the past social and economic constraint because of famine.¹²²

¹¹⁹Informants: Yimamu, Mohamad, and Badire.

¹²⁰ Informants: Yimamu, Bekele and Mohammad.

¹²¹ Informants: Hagos, Kiflom, Yimamu, and Hagos.

¹²²Informants: Teklay, Hagos, and Siraji.

Table 7: Locations and Settler Population Density

Region	Area of resettlement	Population number	Density Per-squar kilometer	Number of settlers	New sttled population	%	New density
Ilubabor Sub Region	46336	964464	20.8	146216	1109268	13.0	23.9
Gambela	24276	69464	2.8	51531	120995	42.5	5.0
Soor+Gaba	3935	245761	62.4	38023	283784	13.4	72.1
Buno	7541	417527	55.3	21386	438913	4.8	58.2
Gore	4020	114545	28.5	23784	138329	17.2	34.4
Mocha	6594	117143	17.7	10209	127352	8.0	19.3

Source: Alula Pankhurst, 1992, p. 57

The table reveals that the number of settlers was increased by 13.0. There had been high population density that aggravated the process of completion on resource exploitation activities. Here, the number of settlers is exceeded to the total land sized, which is the reflection of mis-match between the two variables.

2.10. Post- Resettelement Social Constraints

Post-resettlement period was full of constraints. These include settlers lacked knowledge about the area, language barrier, family dispersion, and delay in the formation of social integration, occasionally death due to infection of malaria, example, in the Gabbaa valley region; in Dorannii, in Haro-Malaka area, and in the highland area there had been disagreement with local climatic condition. As a result, there had been population migration form lowland region to less malarial infected areas like some have crossed Gabbaa River and settled in Yayyoo district in Mageelaa and Sombo kebeles. This voluntary population brought pressure on the host residents.¹²³ However, there had been a sort of improvement in production of crops like maze, beans and peas, red paper, etc. This brought change on market supplies and improvement of crop market price. Settlers have changed their socio-economic status and involved trade activities, which enabled them to led better lives.¹²⁴ On the other hand, the implementation of resettlement had been brought family disruption. Most settler respondent replied that their relatives have been dispersed in various parts of the country.

¹²³ Informants: Mohammad, Kebede Ayle and Bekele.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

They expressed their views by saying that their families have been dispersed while transportation by airplane and bus.¹²⁵ Due to dislocation the affected population has been dispersed in various parts, which resulted in breakage of family linkages and mutual interaction. The pattern of usual visit among the affected is shown respondents usually visit to their relatives only on special occasions due to long distances between their places of residence¹²⁶On the other hand, the implementation the resettlement programs, there was population pressure on resources, i.e., land, water, forest, etc., on the host people¹²⁷

2.11. The Roles NGOs and Government

Before the location program was started from drought affected region the international Non-Government Organization (NGO) operated in Zalambasa Idagamus, Korem Sekota, Kobo, Kalala daseie on the drought region. The MSF France team opened medical program, feeding center and Medesen Sanfrenter (MSF) Belgium's teams had been working in Dagahamus by providing aid service for the population of the drought region. However, the majority of international aid refused providing aid for famine when the *Därg* regime denounced feeding center established by MSF.¹²⁸

On the other hand, many bilateral states in the world were involved in the process of resettlement, and provided it with air transport service in general and study area in particular. In this regard, it is fair enough to cite the Soviet Union, which transported 8,766 settlers by air transport from Tigray to Addis Ababa. Others like host Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) were involved in the process and gave social services like food, medicine, cloths, etc. in the study area by opening aid center in yayo, Dorrannii and Hurrumuu. In this concern, the support by religious organization called Mekan Iysus Church has no proportional. Others like Canada, East Germany, Cuba, and international organization such as FAO, UNESCO, UNICEF etc., had their hand for the success by sporting the resettlement program by providing social provision in general and particular in the study area.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Informants: Kifilom, Hagos, Madine and Hagos.

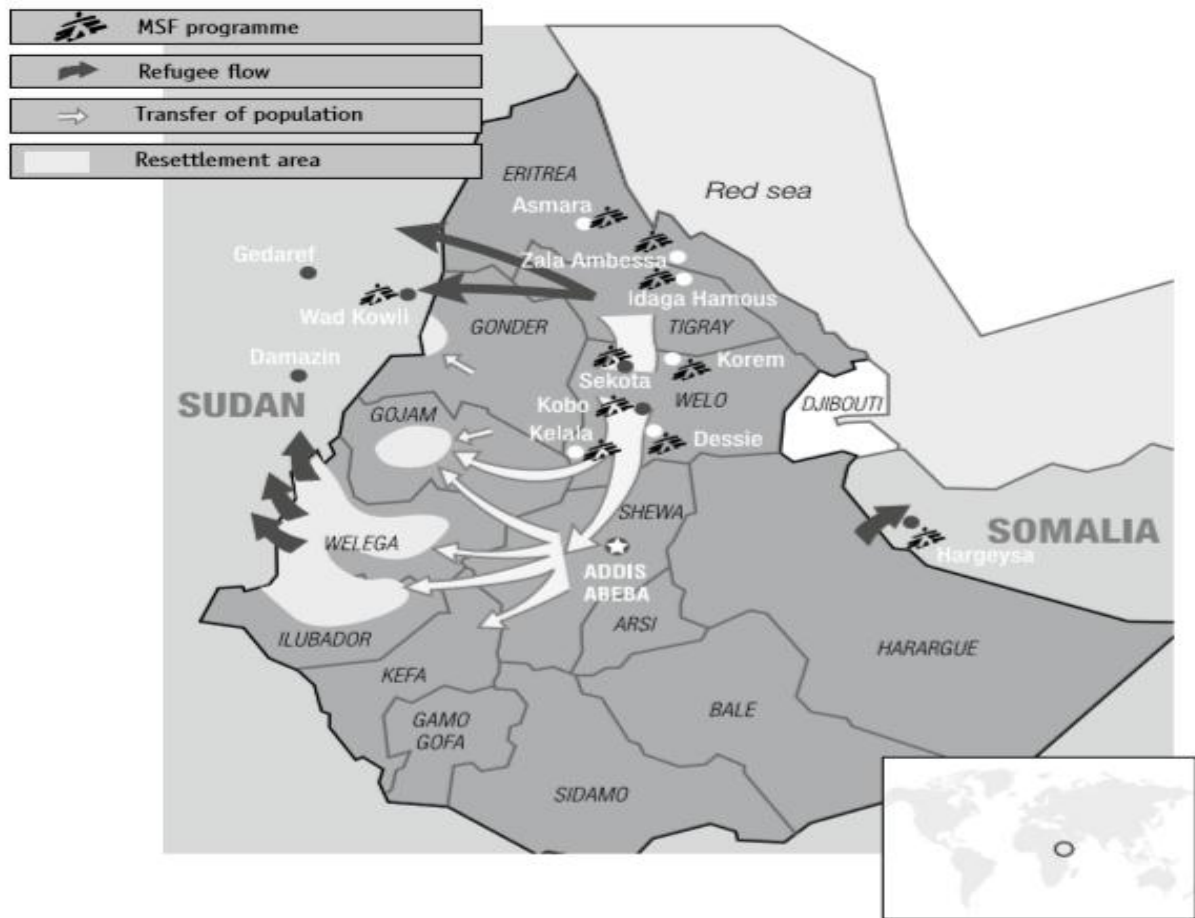
¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Informants: Abadir; Yimamu; Bader and Miressa.

¹²⁸ Médecins Sans Frontiers, *Famine and Forced Relocation in Ethiopia 1984-1986 Speaking out*, msf.org (2005), PP. 7-9; Makura, P.16.

¹²⁹ Alula, pp.14-15.

Map 4 :Shows MSF Team Ruinning Aid Program



Source: Médecins, 2005, P. 7

In regard government role for the settlers was started from the origin of settlers until the ends of resettlement program. There had been transportation provisions that moved settlers to the district resettlement sites. The support was extended to provisions of household equipment, agricultural tools, clothing, food, medicine, etc.¹³⁰

In Ilu Abbaa Boor in general and Mattuu town and study area in particular, there was an institution established for orphans, who had lost their families in different cases. In the institution, children provided with different services such as health, education, food and any other care called by the name Abdii Borii or the hope of tomorrow serving the people of Ilu Abbaa Boor. There was school maintenance, the building of additional classes, and there were also maintenances conducted on St. Peter and St. Gebriel primary schools, and the building of Hostel for female students in Buree. Different districts and Peasantassociation

¹³⁰ Informants; Mohamad; Siraj; Bekele and Hagos.

were provided with the clean water; and the peasants had been fortunate to get training and the provision of farm equipment useful to engage in modern farming; rearing of animals, afforestation and in protection of soil erosion; especially women were highly supported through provided through provided with credit to enhance their economic standard to check the back ward tradition and customs.¹³¹

The organization also worked a lot in provision of clean water in the study areas for the settler furthermore during the co-operative policy of *Därg* regime of co-operating peasants in different district the organization support the peasants provided training ;the modern farming; rearing of animals, afforestation and in protection of soil erosion; especially women were highly supported through provided through provided with credit to enhance their economic standard to check the back ward tradition and customs. The Organization played vital role in the repairing of High and Secondary schools; and it was also involved in the building of Hostel for female students of Yayyoo high school, and clinics water, repairing School etc. There had been training given on soil conservation in the same districts. In Dorannii district, there had been schools (Bocoo-Soyama school) and Elemoo clinic that repaired by the NGO. In the same district, at Baddessa, Bocoo, Warabboo, Shonkoraa, and Elemoo *qäbälé*, settlers were provided with the home-economics training and other social provisions. In addition, there were clinics constructed by the same organization.¹³²

The *Därg* regime resettlement program in the study area was supported by the NGO which provided settlers with the extensive social services such as food, medicine, cloths, grain crops, powder, etc. It was also involved in the provision of other social service provisions such as building health center, hospitals, pipe water and schools, which began from kindergarten and developed to high school level. Such social institutions supplied with adequate material and human resources, which composed of nurses, technicians, and others which had been giving along lasting service in the region.¹³³

The organization also provided social provision for disadvantageous or minority groups of [Gumuz] and Majenger were marginalized because of the mobile nature of them local government because in Ilu Abba Boor in general and particular in the study areas which the

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Belachew, p.79.

¹³³ *Ibid.* p.80.

NGO had provided social provision for the caste group which were stigmatized by local peoples.¹³⁴

Figure 3: Dawe *qäbälé* Water Reservoir Built in 1990 by NGO



Sou

rice: Photo by Investigator, 2019

The above figure shows that settlers were provided with pipe water supply in 1990 thanks to the effort made by the NGO, Mission Formation. It was in Yayyoo district at Dawe kebele constructed to provide water to integrated settlers. It has been also serving to the surrounding communities. Informants stated that the NGO Constructed water weel and irrigation channals, brought seeds, and provided traing and gave farm tools provision for settlers but it had been extended its aids for the local peoples¹³⁵ On the other hand, there were social service provisions, which benefited the people of the the area. Settlers empowered in their production skills and began to cultivate their tenure in line with the interests of the then socio-economic dynamic.

¹³⁴ Damise W/Mariam, "The protection of Minorities Under The Constitution of Oromia With Particular Reference to Ilu Abba Boora Zone" (Institution of Federalism and Legal Local Government, (Addis Abeba 2009),pp.81-83.

¹³⁵ Informants: Mohammed, Kiflom and Abebe.

Figure 4: Hostel for Female Students



Source: Photo by Investigator, 2019

The above figure shows that the establishment of Hostel for female student in Yayyoo district individuals, who played pivotal role in the establishment Hostel for female together with NGO of the time.

According to oral informants, there had been individuals, who played pivotal role in the establishment of social services. In this regard, individuals whose unreserved professional support would have been vital input for the establishment of Hostel for female student together with NGO of the time. As a result, significant numbers of professionals, who had got chance to the test of modern education in the same institution, have been working in different sectors.¹³⁶

Immediately after the end of the resettlement program, settlers have formed their organization, and elected their representatives, who served as middlemen between settlers or

¹³⁶ Informants: Yimamu, Asefaa Mamo, and Mohammed.

kebeles and woreda support commission in order to solve the problem confronted with settlers. These representatives were responsible to take provisions like medicine, food, food oil, wheat, cloths, milk powder and bobi-milk, candy for children, *boloqe*, house utensils, farm equipment, and others. In so doing, the number of settlers and family size were taken in to consideration.¹³⁷

However, resettlement program was criticized by scholars and human right activists. Accordingly, the process of resettlement was carried out with large-scale government intervention to implement the plan in line with the socialist ideological ground point of views, which reinforced the success of rural transformation scheme through the establishment of the rural cooperatives and the like.¹³⁸

2.12. The Early Relationships between Settlers and Host Communities

First, there had been peaceful relationship between settlers and the host people. But there was deterioration of relationships that caused by the expansion of resentment and involvement of settlers in forest destruction activities with the intention to expand their farm land.¹³⁹ Furthermore, the new settlers, in the study area, had faced some challenges such as social, emotional, natural, and cultural difference. They failed to cope with the challenges in the new environment. From the start, some of them had been forcefully separated from their family members and relatives. This frustrated they not adapt the new environment. Some of them them could not cope with the diseases confronted in the new region and lost their lives because of disease; there was also failure to make mental, cultural and linguistic adjustments. As a result, some settlersevacuated from the new harsh-full to the nearby town and became laborer; while other abandoned the area and went back to their birth places.¹⁴⁰

According to oral informants, initially, there had been peaceful relationships between settlers and the host communities. Accordingly, settlers were provided with the warm well-come, and helped to adopt the new environment. There was local immigration or informal shift of settlers from their original settlement sites to the study area. For example, settlers left out from Goree, Teeppii, Bacha, and Wallaggaa (Arjoo) came into Gabbaa *awraja*.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ Asefa, Aseffa Kuru, "The Conquest and Environmental Degradation of Oromia", *The Journal of Oromo Studies* Vol.II, No.1 and 2, (Middle Tennessee State University, USA, 1995), p.128: Shumeta, p.33.

¹³⁹ Informants: Yimamu, Argawi, and Waldy Hagos.

¹⁴⁰ Lamessa, p 20.

¹⁴¹ Informants: Mohammed Ahmmed, Keflom Ayele, and Abebe Asfaw.

CHAPTER THREE

3. VILLAGIZATION PROGRAM IN THE STUDY AREA, 1986-1988

3.1. Villagization: An Overview

There had been socialist countries (China, USSR, Poland, Hungary, and North Vietnam) undertaken villagization program. Nevertheless, the program was ceased following the collapse of socialist ideology. Similarly, involuntary villagization was conducted in different African countries, For example, in Linyi by French. The same program was also conducted in Asia, in Vietnam by America.¹⁴²

During the period of 1973- 1977, villagization, as a rural transformation program was implemented in Tanzania by Nyerere government in name of *Ujama* to impelment interpretation of socialism. The program was initiated to transform the rural scattered settlement into village life, which enabled the regime to provide villages with adequate social service supplies like electric light, pure water, health centers; etc. By the end of 1976, all Tanzanian peasants had to live in villages. Similar scheme were in Ruanda called *Imidugudu* started in 1997, as approximately 2,5 million refugee returnees arrived home after a period of war followed by in the famous Rwandan genocide in 1994. with the objects to provide people with house services for the homeless and regrouping in the villages. The program implemented through international support agreement, but the program failed to bear fruit.¹⁴³

In Ethiopia, villagization was also preferred as one of the National Food Security Programs undertaken by the *Därg* regime. Villagization began in Bale in the 1978 and later on in Hararge to create deny OLF reciving or to isolate the insurgents. It was implemented without preparation and objective. Thus, in 1985, villagization was believed to have initiated by the *Därg* government as new rural inhabitant's relocation program. There had been clear objectives behind the program, which aimed at groupping the scattered rura

¹⁴² Yasin, p.102

¹⁴³ Grunditz, pp.10-11.

Communities throughout the country in general and in the study area in particular. There had been interests to impose political control and promote collectivization agriculture and enhance extension service and to promote more rational land use and conservation of natural resources.¹ Accordingly, the first villagization program in Gambella was implemented in 1979. However, the most known villagization program carried out in 1984.²

In 1985, a National Coordinating Committee was believed to have established by the *Därg* regime with the intention to implement the villagization plan in different parts of the country, where the study area part. According to the policy guideline, within 100-square-meter compounds villages were expected to hold 200 to 300 households for each family. By March 1986, about 4.6 million people in Shewa, Arsi, and Hararge had been relocated into more than 4,500 villages. Accordingly, by 1989, throughout the country, about 13 million people were said to have villagized, with the exception of Tigre and Eritrea, where security was critical problem of the time. Regionally, in Oromia, the program was begun and extended throughout the region between 1984 and 1987. In the same year, in the 1985, villagization was initiated in Ilu Abbaa Boor Province and by March 1987 had affected 7 percent of the rural population (62,000 people). By September 1988, the government plans to have villagized a quarter million peasants (25 percent of the rural population).³

The program was actively implemented in the following three years, and by 1988, more than 12 million farmers had been moved to core villages. During the military regime, millions of farmers were obliged to demolish their houses and abandon their long-inhabited homesteads. In any cases, the dismantling and reconstruction of homes took place under the eyes of armed soldiers. Stiff fines were levied against anyone absent from this work. Houses typically consist of 1 – 2 bedrooms (usually very small), a kitchen and living room, the latter of which is often used as a bedroom, during wintertime or year-round. Some houses have in-door toilets, and baths, discharging to a holding tank or septic tank. The majority have outdoor pit latrines. The food storage area is typically placed in the basement, created as a result of the inclined relief, where temperatures are typically cooler.⁴ Finally, in 1988, in the region, 12,

¹ Asaffa, pp.140-141.

² Habtam Diribe; *The Process, Socio, Economic and Adjustment Challenges In Anyuwa Zone, Gambella Woreda Sociology and Family Planning Studies*, (MA thesis, Jimma University, History 2018), p. 13.

³ Sandra, S.1987 "Cultural Survival Quarterly Resettlement and Villagization-Tools of Militarization in SW Ethiopia." *Issue 11.4*, 1987, p.53.

⁴ Informants: yimamu, Ahimad, and Bekele.

000, 0000 people were believed to have villagized including Soor and Gabbaa *awurajas* in general and the study area in particular.⁵

The *Därg* villagization program was very disastrous in its characteristics because, more than thirty million rural peasants were forcefully moved to the new villages over nine years period. This brought pervasive impact on human and material resources. Despite that the program was initiated with the intention to promote rational land use, conserve resources strength security and provided to access to clean water health and education and infrastructure, however these new villages were often the source forced labor for government projects, for the most part villagization was implemented with threat of force other than right in the south western part of the country, this policy had the negative result on the native population of Ilubabor. In the region, the program was implemented in all provinces the relocation of the peasants in to large village from forty to 300 families promised that the program would give better access to agricultural extension services school, clinic, water etc. It improved economic and social service would promote more efficient use of land and other natural resources and would lead to increased agricultural production and higher standard of living.⁶

Villagization program was relied on Eastern European (East Germany and Soviet Union) donor agencies, who contributed funds, food and technical assistance for establishing and maintaining of these communities, the use of villagization. Even if the *Därg* was considered strong in the undertakings of the relocation, the regime failed to fulfill the official commitments.⁷ In order to implement villagization program, in Ilu Abbaa Boor province, coordinating committee was established at *awraja*, *wäräda*, and *qäbälé* level. The committee, initially, had got support from the society. But, soon, it became unpopular because of corruption (bribe) and inappropriate use of force to displace people from their original residences. Despite that the program was continued.⁸

⁵Makuria Bulcha “Famine as an Instrument for Nation Building and State Consolidation; Ethiopian Resettlement and Villagization Programs of 1978-1991 in Retrospect”, *Journal of Oromo Studies* Vol.8, No. 1 and 2, 2001, (Middle Tense State Uniuersity2001), P.114-115; Letter written from National Program Cordinating Authority to five Provinces in 5 December, 1980, Document No. 5065/BS31/80; Mandefror Amare, “The Impact of Voluntary Villagization Program on Rural Households Poverty Status in Gambella Regional State, Ethiopia: A Matching Estimator Approach”, *Glob. J. Agric. Econ. Ext. Rural Deve*, (Gambella University,2018), p.336; Shumete, p.28.

⁶Balachew, P. 78.

⁷Sandra, S. “Cultural Survival Quarterly Resettlement and Villagization-Tools of Militarization in SW Ethiopia.” *Issue* 11.4, 1987; Maria, pp. 13 and 76.

⁸Yassin, p.204.

In the same year, in the 1986, villagization was initiated in Ilu Abbaa Boor Province between March 1987 and September 1988, 25 percent of the rural population with the objective of to provide social provision, conserve natural resources, provide clean water, health and education service cooperative for rural peoples and strengthen security and self-defense. The program was actively implemented the following three years, and by 1988, more than a quarter of million farmers had been moved to core villages in Ilubabor in general and the study area in particular.⁹

Table 7: Villagization in Ilu Abbaa Boor

Administrative Region	No. of peasants involved	No. of villages	Total no. of family members	Total
Ilubabor	757	918	67050	289679
Walega	757	1496	76589	304757
Arsi	1,027	241	986	236

Source: Bekele, 2016, p. 81

The evidence above implies that 757 peasant villagers were moved to 918 villages together with 67050 family members, and began to lead village lives, which were new in their characteristics. The total number of settlers amounted to 289679. This means a single village was settled by minim households, which created challenge on the provision of social services such as water, clinic, school, and other.

3.2. The Process of Villagization

The process of villagization was conducted on the basis of the direction expressed in the letter written by the Provisional Military Government of Ethiopia to Soor and Gabbaa *awrajas* in 28 January 1986. The central team of the letter resides on the implementation of villagization program. On the other hand, in the letter written from the Ethiopian Democratic Republic Coffee and Tea Minister to Gabbaa *awraja* in 21 October, 1990, local groups were organized from local administration and agriculture sectors authorized to coordinate the process of villagization¹⁰

⁹Human Right Watch, “Watching Here for Death” *Forced Displacement and Villagization in Ethiopia’s Gambella Region* USA (2012), P.12. Informants: Belaye Mohammed, Yemamu Abdu, Nesru Aman, and Yegzu Beyne.

¹⁰Informants: Yimamu Badire, and Mohamd.

In 1986, the process of villagization was started with the provision of training to peasant association chairmen, rural development agents, policemen, and etc., with the objective to give highlight the eight programs of villagization programs. The training was conducted at district level. The aim was to enhance public awareness about the objective of villagization.¹¹ Accordingly, in 1986, before mass mobilizations conducted at each *qäbälé* model village site were selected in Yayyoo (Gabbaa, Tiliku Gerii *qäbälé*) and in Dorannii (Diduu, Batali and Fani *qäbälé* and in Hurrumuu (Gabbaa, and Antona Cancoo) *qäbälé* elected as model site for the beginning of villagization program in the study area. In such ways celebration conducted with the Gabbaa *awraja* and warada selected committee to announce the program of villagization. The first phase of the scheme was started by the involvement of different sector from Gabbaa *awraja*, *wäräda*, *qäbälé* and other concerning body for the beginning the program¹²

The objective was for the mobilization of villagization program in all kebeles according to the model village. For the implementation of the program in the three districts (Yayyoo, Hurrumuu and Dorannii) mass mobilization started in study area by different associations such as youth association, women association, peasant association, students, police, committee, party members, teachers, for beginning of villagization program etc. There had been preliminary activities conducted on selection of sites.

3.3. The Implementation of Villagization

From 1986/87 the first block was started and implemented on the basis of 20 to 50 care meter gaps. Following house demolishing campaign was begun by the members of peasant association, youth association and women association were actively participated in to Hurrumuu (Oge, Heremii, Manahiraa, Sonxaa, Gondaraa, Haroo, Baaroo, Qeresi, Cooraa, Ordin, Kamisee Konchii, Mattuu Meci, Gabbaa, etc. and in Dorannii District, (Haroo Batali Bondaho, Henna Reejii, Gabbaa, Fani, Shoshe, Didu, Boco- Soyama, Warabo, Shonkora etc. Demolishing campaign was begun by the members of peasant association, youth association and women association in all *qäbälés* involved in transfer of house tools, wood, etc., into the new villages under investigation. The process of house construction did not take more than two weeks. There had been massive participants, who engaged in providing different construction materials from different sites, i.e., from the former settlement areas and forests. This integrative action became the cause for the construction of significant numbers of house.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Informaants: Gezagy, Kebede, and Bekele.

On the other hand, there have been different associations took part and gave support useful for family construction of houses.¹³

Service cooperatives were established in the three districts with the sake of protecting the peasant from unwanted exploitation from traders. During the implementation of villagization program, these cooperatives provided peasant associations with construction materials (slash, saw, sickles, digging tools, etc.) to prepare village sites. Furthermore, it was needed to provide loans for members at fair interest rates and to teach people about the importance of saving for the change of the life status of the rural people.¹⁴

Therefore, to enable the peasant to work collectively and to improve the quality and the level of productivity had the end goal of Mengistu's government. In case of Yayyoo, Hurrumu and Dorannii particularly at the initial years the service cooperatives were more attractive than producers' cooperatives. As a result, peasants joined the cooperative by their will and in the district 3 service cooperatives were established in which each of the cooperatives consists 3 to 4 kebele peasant associations at each district. They established shops to supply goods to the members. Like sugar, oil, salt, pencil and exercise books, soap, shoes and other commodities offered to the members. Furthermore, SC bought and accumulated the grains like maize from state farms of Dhidheessaa and Anger Gutin and sold to peasants when they exposed for shortage of food¹⁵

3.4. Social Constraints in the First Phase of Villagization

There had been public resentments on the given land size, it did not provide them with adequate space to accommodate their cattle; and villagers have developed fear about their farm in their previous residences that exposed to the threat of wild beasts. On the other hand, there was no any attempt undertaken to convince people about the significance of the program. Settlers simply forced to move to the newly built villages. Program coordinators, i.e., *qäbälé* officers and committee members did not take part in the villagization program. The distances between villages and settlers' residences have never been given emphasis. As a result, villages faced challenge to manage their farm, which exposed to looting and destruction by wild beasts.¹⁶

¹³ Informants: Yimamu, Dula, Mohammad, and Bekele.

¹⁴ Informants: Yimamu, Bekele, Bimer; Kebede, Miressa, and Yisaq Ayana.

¹⁵ Informants: Badire, Bimer and Yimamu.

¹⁶ Informants: Belay, Beyene; Bekele and Dula

However, the above social constraints initiated public discussion held at district and peasant association levels. Villagers have presented their resentment to WEP central committee, which decided that the need to select village sites in account to the distance between villages and villagers' farm lands in order to closely manage their farm and reduce the threat of wild beasts and produce more and secure their subsistence demand. The second rounds of villagization beginning in 1987/88 and second bloc were also continued in such away. The homestead land size also increased to 40 to 50 care meters. The work was conducted in day and night to finish the scheme within a short period time. Each household provided with different service centers such as toilet, kitchen, and hole for rubbish materials, garners, cattle house, etc.¹⁷

During the implementation of villagization cast groups (potters, smiths, and weavers) were highly affected due to the introduction of village life because of social stigma. On the other hand, the villagization shames did not allow for them establishing their residence in account to their economic activities. They isolated from them the resource and production areas where they had been acquired resources and produce products and support their lives. In connection with these, in the first phase of villagization program the cast group living in the study area, in Mattuu Meci, Gabbaa, Manahira, Sombo, Hamuma, Jemee- Shonoo, kuhii, Boranaa, Leeqaa, Machallee, were marginalized because of social stigma. However, the village life did not favor them with favorable condition to continue with their economic activities. Finally, in 1990s, large numbers of artisans were returned to their ancestral land, while the rest were remained to lead village life at the expense of their ancestral economic activities.¹⁸

¹⁷ *Ibid*

¹⁸ Informants: Medine Ayelom, Badire Mohammad, and Ksaye Tatamke.

Table 8: Peasant Association and Number of Village

Peasant Association	Number of villagers house hold					Compeleted village	Number of houses in village		Demolished houses
	Male	Female	Grass roof	Metal roof	out - door toilets		Fame	male	
Haro	2	-	-	2	-	-	2	5	150
Debisa	2	1	1	3	-	-	7	2	180
Mucuco	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-
Jito	3	-	-	3	-	5	4	5	150
Shon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sombo	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	3	80
Acibo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dawe	3	-	-	2	1	1	5	3	-
Hamuma yayo	-	-	-	2	-	-	--	-	-
Tiliku Geri	-	-	-	3	--	-	-	-	300
Geri Jiru	1	-	-	-	--	-	-	-	100
Geri/gudaya	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	60
Abiyu	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	360
Wabo Ganache	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-
Tiji	3	-	-	3			4	6	-
Cora	1	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	-
Gatami	2	-	-	1	-	-	4	1	-
Sando	2	-	-	-	-	-	6	6	200
GeciDogi	3	-	-	3-	-	-	-	-	-
Agaro Laku	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	--	-
Bondaho/G	5	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-
Bondaho/Magela	2	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	100
Baco		-							
Gicinayi Suta	1	-	-	1	-	-	2	2	100
Yambo Darma	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Doni	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	360
Ongo	3	-	-	-	-	-	8	7	-
Ordin	2	-	-	2	-	1	5	4	-
Kambo	4	-	-	4	-	-	=	-	240
Leqa		-							180
	58	1	79	2	1	7	73	71	2910

Source: Yaayyoo *wärdä* Agricultural Office, 2019, p. 65

Information in table indicates that in the study areas peasant association area obligated to demolish their houses and abandon their long-inhabited homesteads and participated for the success of the implementation of villagization program, in the study area during the military

regime. According to archival source, in the three districts, 2370 houses were built. In addition, there have been 1120 latrines built. In the ends of villagization program, 764 grass roof houses and 76 tin houses were constructed by 840 individual farmers in Yayyoo district. Similarly, in Hurumuu district, in 33 *qäbälés*, 983 grass roof houses and 55 tin houses were built. In Dorannii district, in 39 *qäbälés* 1100 grass roof houses and 43 tin houses were built with the cost's peasant association.¹⁹

Consequently, these villages were built as model villages in the study area and settled by different homestead groups. In any cases, the demolishing and reconstruction of homes took place under the eyes of armed soldiers. Stiff fines were levied against anyone absent from this work. Houses typically consist of 1-2 bedrooms (usually very small), a kitchen and living room, the latter of which is often used as a bedroom, during wintertime or year-round. Some houses have out-door toilets, and baths, discharging to a holding tank or septic tank. The majority have outdoor pit latrines. The food where storage area is typically placed in the basement, created as a result of the inclined relief, temperatures are typically cooler. Prevalent heating systems comprise terracotta wood burning stoves, usually found in each inhabited room of the house.²⁰

Information that was collected from oral informants confirmed that the political and security concern of villagization program was given greater emphasis than the implementation of the rural transformation goal. These programs have been introduced into the region with the intention introduce its hidden economic and political agenda and to increase the state military control of the area. Through the implementation of the projects, the *Därg* regime has intended to create the societies with military characteristics, which attested by the formation of labor regiment, top-down decision making, and compulsory participation under the threat of corporal retribution, investigation, and restrictions. On the other hand, villagers were organized as military substructures with the interest to use them as principal sources of the human resources for the army as well as for special local militia forces responsible for locating and punishing suspected rebel traitors.²¹

Nevertheless, villagization program failed to meet its objectives. It did not include non-sedentary section of the rural society. In this regard, nomadic peoples and shifting cultivators

¹⁹ Informants: Siraj Mohammad, Dheresa Tucho and Abera.

²⁰ Bekele Kenea. A Political History of Iluu Abbaa Booraa (Ca. 1974-2000), (MA Theses, Jimma University, History, 2016), p.81. Maria, pp .4-7.

²¹ Informants: Yimam; Bekele Burayu and Hasse HOgoo.

have never been included in the program. On the other hand, the program was less favorable to bring change on the peasants' lives. As a result, thousands of people fled to avoid villagization it; while others died or lived in terrible life conditions after being forcibly resettled. Such program failure has never been assessed, except there had been some indicators that disclosed the truth how the program was imposed impact on rural peasants and their social and economic well-being. Therefore, villagization ended with the further impoverishment of the already poor peasantry. The services that were supposed to be delivered in new villages, such as water, electricity, health care clinics, schools, transportation, and agricultural extension services, did not provide because the government lacked the necessary resources. Villagers therefore resorted to improvised facilities or reverted to old ways of doing things. Villagization also reduced the productive capacity of the peasants by depriving them of the opportunity for independent organization and action. By increasing the distance peasants had to travel to work on their land and graze their cattle, villagization wasted time and effort. Denied immediate access to their fields, the peasants were also prevented from guarding their crops from birds and other wild animals.²²

In the region, the implementation of resettlement and villagization programmed, have ended with positive and negative consequences, which can be treated in the form of social, economic, cultural, environmental, etc., perspectives. Moreover, resettlement is a complex process, which needs multi-dimensional activities carried out through multi-actors and approaches. Because of such rationale, settlers may have been affected in different ways

²²Informants; Hassan, Kebede and Hussen.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. THE IMPACTS OF RESETTLEMENT AND VILLAGIZATION SCHEMES

4. 1 Social Impact

In the study area, there has been good opportunity that brought cultural interactions between the host and settler population by the implementation of the resettlement program. On the other hand, in the area under investigation, the resettlement program had brought favorable conditions for settlers. Most importantly, the realization of the program helped settlers consolidate the habit of peace fulco-existence; consequently, different ethnic groups began to live in harmony. There have been common understandings between settlers and host community, the Oromo. This emanated from the old age Oromo indigenous knowledge called inclusive culture, which enabled settlers to live together with confidence without any suspension of one other. Thus, they have been working together, eating together, and there have been inter-ethnic marriage practices. On the other hand, shortage of priests and deacons that had been seen in the Orthodox Church resolved with the coming of priests and deacons into the region. At the same time, together with settlers' large number of sheikhs came to the area and this created advantage to the Islamic teachings. Equally, social institutions also expanded. These include *sānbātè* (religious ceremony with local drink at Orthodox church) and *māhiber* (social organization) organized by the Christians with the objective to promote common good, apart from their spiritual values, such institutions enabled members to create social link and get support. There is also *māhiber*, which has a spiritual goal in addition to social network formation.¹

From indigenous ethnic groups, settlers have adopted some indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms such *Gumaa* (blood feud compensation), *Jaarsummaa* (traditional conflict resolution institution), *Arraara* (peace restoration), etc.,) instead of pursuing conflict aggravating systems such as revenge or *beqāla* (revenge). The resettlement program had brought pervasive intra and inter-ethnic interactions, which manifested in different socio-economic engagements such as trade, marriage, religion, language, psychological, emotional, culture, and political affairs. On the other hands before the implementation of villagization the occupational group group stigmatized by higher people the district. Villagization played pivotal role in improvement of inter-ethnic interactions. Gradually the lower social groups,

¹Gerum, 2010, P.34; Informants: Hassan, Kebede, and Hussen.

artisans (potters, weavers, smiths,) had got opportunity to live together with the other social groups. Inter-ethnic interaction, work together, eat together and trade, etc., with the dominant social groups. On the other hand, the *Därg* villagization program also promotes living, working, corporatization and propagations of socialism program together gave unopportunities to the interaction the peoples.² According to oral informants, due to the implementation of resettlement program in Soor and Gabbaa *awraja*, brought positive marks on socio-cultural assets of both new comers and the host community. In one hand, the host communities have adopted new social and cultural activities. For example, they learned alien cultural values (folks, music, proverbs, dance, work songs, marriage songs, worship system, funeral processions.), which used to get together and help each other to solve their social, economic, religious, and etc., common affairs at the expense of their indigenous socio-economic cultural values.³

Some of indigenous institutions (*galgalee, daboo, jaatanii*, etc.) were strengthen because peoples helping each by indigenous institutions her “*Qän sera*” or wage labor system become weaken. This had brought serious impact on the function of the Oromo indigenous socio-economic supportive culture, which helped elderly people to get free service in the community. On the other hand, settlers have exposed to adopt some cultural elements of the host society. For example, they learned new language, Afan Oromo, they also adopted new marriage system, they learned music, dance, songs, etc.) As a result of dislocation these values were changed in new environmental setup.⁴

Resettlement project was brought serious damage on social affairs. Moreover, during the *Därg* regime, the displaced people have been viewed by the host group as burden on indigenous social practices such as funeral ceremonies, marriage system, etc. Inter-marriage between the host and settlers has lately happened. More than a decade, settlers were stigmatized and viewed as “*sāfari* (settler)” Later, the social stress between the host community and settlers has improved through their frequent contact at religious and market places. As a result, significant numbers of settlers have been left the area and returned to their previous residences because they had been forced to leave their ancestral cultural land; the

² Informants: Yimamu, Ali, Tekilay and Bekele.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Informants: Abdu, Dula, Kifilom; Azhar, R “Resettlement in New Environment and Its Impacts on Socio-Cultural Values of the Affecters: A Case Study of Tarbela Dam, Pakistan.” *Journal of DOI: 10.4172/2167-0587.S6-009 Geography & Natural Disasters*, 2016, pp.5-8.

fall of the *Därg* regime was created open space to return to their origin. For example, from Hurummuu district (i.e., from Qerssi, and Baroo *qäbälés*; and from Dorrannii district (Kussaye and Haroo *qäbälés* and from Yayyoo district (Leqaa, Ordinogo, Tiggii, and Gecii *qäbälés*) Tigray and Wallos have been returned to their former residences.⁵ Oral informants confirm that the social constraints during population relocation program were some factor for returning back to the ancestral place and specially the downfall of *Därg* regime had gave opportunity to back to former home lands⁶

Village life helped people develop the sense of religious tolerance. This caused by the presence of different region worshipers. In most cases, villages were inhabited by the significant numbers of Muslims and Christians. This provided people with the good opportunity to preach and worship their own religious doctrines. As a result, children who could have been criminals learned to be positive thinkers due to their exposure to religious teachings. They consolidated the habit of togetherness, and tolerated each other. Religious teachings brought change on public attitude toward each other. Mostly, children learned more how to act obediently, honestly, and morally, as good citizens.⁷

4.2 Ethnic Interaction

It has been population of the study areas similar forms of cultural characteristics or share similarity. However, the migration of peoples from north to south western region in general and particularly in the study area the implementation of resettlement program shares heterogenic characteristic and the influential members where settlers come from Tigry and Wallo. Moreover, the heterogeneity, characteristics are introduced in Warabboo, Haroo, Diiduu, Elemoo, Yayyoo town Achiboo, Amumaa, Gecii, yambo, Hurrumuu town, Sonxoa, Gabbaa in Dorannii, Yayyoo and Hurrumuu Districts respectively.⁸ From the above statements it is possible to argue that the heterogeneity characteristics have been created strong social, cultural, economic and political intra ethnic and interethnic interaction between settlers and the host peoples.⁹

⁵Kassahun Kebede, "Development-Induced Displacement Dams, Irrigation Parks and Urban Relocation for Social Dimension of Development-Induced Resettlement. The Case Giligel Gibe Hydroelectric Dam", *Article in Moving People in Ethiopia Development, Displacement and the State*, Great Britain, 2009, P.58; Yemamu, Hagose, and Hargawe.

⁶Informants: Kiros, Hagos and Teklay.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Zawude, P.17.

⁹ Informants: Wasan, Gezagy, Mohammad and Madine.

On the other hand, villagers know one another and are able to cooperate and work together for the betterment of their lives and care for one another. Since they are together, they interact as often as possible and share their lives together. They spend enough time together eating, drinking and working without feeling lonely or bored. Villagers promote better social life. They also get together often to drink coffee.¹⁰

4.3 Socio- economic Impacts

The *Därg* regime resettlement program, in the study area, was provided by government and NGO, which provided settlers with the extensive social services such as building health center, hospitals, pipe water and schools, which began from kindergarten and developed to high school level. Such social institutions supplied with adequate material and human resources, which composed of nurses, technicians, and others which had been giving along lasting service in the region.¹¹ However, the past villagization program facilitated relative expansion of Universal Rural Road Access Program (URRAP), project, electricity, social provision, education, health, water supply, had gave good opportunity for EPRDF after the down fall of *Därg* era. The social provisions were provided for those villagers did not return to the original place during *Därg* era. However, it hardly extended for those returned to the original residents¹² Moreover, the government should a rage other mechanism for those villagers living in scattered to provide social service.

Villagization may have further impoverished an already poor peasantry. The services that were supposed to be delivered in new villages, such as water, electricity, health care clinics, schools, transportation, and agricultural extension services, were not being provided because the government lacked the necessary resources. Villagers therefore resorted to improvised facilities or reverted to old ways of doing things. Villagization also reduced the productive capacity of the peasants by depriving them of the opportunity for independent organization and action. By increasing the distance peasants had to travel to work on their land and graze their cattle, villagization wasted time and effort. Denied immediate access to their fields, the peasants were also prevented from guarding their crops from birds and other wild animals.¹³

¹⁰ *Ibid*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Informants: Yimamu, Hagose, and Hargawe.

Figure 5: Social Service Given for Villegers



Photo taken by Investigator 20/12/1920

Information in table indicates that in the study areas past villagization program facilitated the expansion of URRAP, project, electricity, social provision, these indicated that the implementation of villagization program in the past regime facilitated for the implementation of social service after *Därg* regime.

The resettlement had brought some visible changes on the economy. Initially, settlers were provided with the preliminary supplies from the host communities, NGO, and the government. For example, in the study area, specially, in Yayyoo, Hurmmuu, and Dorannii districts, resettles were more or less provided with the basic social services (school, water, health, etc.), which enabled them to begin their own lives, which they had never been exercised ever before. After two years, settlers had got better access to fertile land and the

area was not drought prone as it was in their origin a result, they benefited by improving their food security status, which were the major livelihood priority of the settlers. Besides, there have been a better natural resources and climatic conditions that enabled settlers to have more reliable set of entitlements to livelihoods than those who live in risky environments with poor soils.¹⁴

On the other hand, settlers had been engaged in the economic activities of coffee production, cattle production, crop production, etc. All these brought changes on the quest for the food crop demands and began minimized economic expense. In 1988/90, they produced large amount of maize production, which became special cause for market crops price reduction. Eventually, settlers engaged in trade activities and began to create job opportunities. Informants argued how their current livelihood situation is by far better than the former one and they do not dream to return to their origin. There have been settlers, who came from Tigray, Wallo, Raya, etc., were successful and decided to remain there forever. Therefore, it is possible to confirm a number of settlers who had been relocated to the area are changing their livelihoods positively despite the fact that there are also groups who are not in a position to do so.¹⁵

In the wake of 1984/85 drought, according to informants, settlers are said to have been easily adapted to the local setting, mainly because of the existence of pioneer compatriots in the area. Only few of them have deserted the area following the down fall of the *Därg* regime in 1991. They have already adapted themselves to the local social and environmental settings and managed to produce surplus to sustaining their livelihood. They have managed to earn private property by engaging themselves in agricultural production, grain trade and running private business.¹⁶ The contribution of resettlement program can be expressed as, 'I am so happy that there are shops in the village which sell the items I need. I used to travel to the city to buy salt, soaps, oil and the like. It was very tiring for me as I often walked on foot to buy them. Now that they are sold in the village, I am happy because it is easy to buy them.' This means people can get small items in the villages from the shops opened locally. They also sell their items for a little higher price. There are also tea rooms and mini-restaurants where

¹⁴Informants: Hassen, Jemale, Hargawe, and Hagose.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶*Ibid.*

one can buy and drink tea from tea rooms with breads baked there. It is also possible to have breakfast because there are people who serve it.¹⁷

From observation, we understand that villagization brought change and continuity in each village. These businesses activities (trade, alcohol selling, tea house, shopping, meal houses, coffee selling, etc.). They have been engaging in agricultural activities, which helped each group to produce for commercial crops. Settlers have been engaged in manual labor activities like loading and unloading the trucks with rocks and other materials. The other associations engaged in trade-related activities. This enabled people to form *Iqub* (association or traditional money saving system.) This helped people to change their former grass roof houses to corrugated roof houses and with plates.¹⁸ On the other hand, settlers have brought hard working culture, which created positive impact on the pre-existing work tradition; they have brought intensive production system also brought change on the host people farm system; they have brought new crop production and risk control systems. Later, economic improvement enabled settlers to engage in local development activities.¹⁹

There have been constraints on the implementation of the rural development policies and practices. In this regard, various reasons can be cited. In most cases, the *Därg* government failed to take in to consideration about the contribution of public participation in rural development policy planning, development, governance, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the overall process, success and failure of the programs. This is because the rural residents are said to be the subjects of the programs that directly or indirectly affect them, and their consent plays pivotal role in the success of any rural development schemes. Their role is vital inputs for the implementation of the rural transformation policies and strategies.²⁰

On the other hand, villagization is important factor for the improvement of communication system. This is resulted from the closeness of houses, which help people to hear each other.²¹ There had been change and continuity seen on villagers' levies in the study area. The past villagization shames had brought relative change on public lives. Some of the village cites

¹⁷Informants: Mohammad; Walday and Hagos.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Informants: Musa Adam; Kibiret Meles and Abshiru Yasin.

²⁰Informants: Abdu, Gezahagy, Kiflom, Hagos; Teklay Mulugeta Debebe, "Destabilization In Ethiopia, The Case of Dendi District, West Shoa Zone, Oromia Concept and Process", (Ph.D. Dissertation, Technics University Dortmund, 2012), pp. 64- 65.

²¹ Informants: Abadir, Hagos, and Bekele.

and have changed to towns status, example, Geecii, Bondaho, Aciboo. Witatee, Somboo, Yamboo, Hamuumaa, and Warabboo, Diiduu and Warabboo and Gabbaa, Manahiraa, and Gondaraa Hoge and Baroo, which gave opportunity after 1991 supplied with important social services like electricity, water, road, schools, health centers in the study area etc. However, after the demise of the *Därg* regime, in 1991, significant numbers of villagers were returned to their previous place. As a result, they faced serious trouble to get similar social service provision because they resettled to their original residences in the scattered ways.²² However, the evacuation of same villager from villagization program after the down fall of *Därg* to original site had loosed some social provisions because the distance between village.

Village life favored women with reduction of distance in searching for water, fire wood, gridding stane, market place, etc. This come from the proximity of social services mentioned above. Pre-village life, women had been grinding corns with their hands or walk a long distance to the mill houses, but, now, thanks to villagization program, these services are close to them and for this reason, they are relieved and began to engage into another business activities like selling tea, bread, craft works, local drinks (*tella, araka, derki-enjera, shirro, barbera, kollo* etc.) to generate money and support their daily livelihoods.²³

However, there was dissatisfaction on the land size that allotted to each household. The system was corrupted and failed to be free from gender bias. For example, women and men did not allot equal land size. A widow woman did get one hectare, which is less than the land size given to a single man.²⁴ In this regard, a widow woman, who was given one hectare, argues that ‘For sure this is happening on me because I am a woman and have no voice to be heard.’²⁵ At the same time, she is dissatisfied with the productivity level of the land allocated to her as compared to her fellow counterparts. She was seriously criticizing by the things that were advocated before resettlement for it was out of joint to what is there in the ground. As a result, she decided to increase her income by selling local bear, bread, tea, and locally made alcohol called *araki*.²⁶

Furthermore, in Ethiopia, the *Därg* government had come to power with radical rural transformation programs in the study area which provided people with a hope for better life,

²²*Ibid.*

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴ Informant: Hagere Walday; Hagose Teklayi and Haregawi.

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶ Gerum, 2010, p.24.

prosperity and progress. These have hardly been tangible progress or unrealistic promise on the ground, and remained short lived hope that soon eroded after the new regime seized power. One good example is the failure of villagization program in the study area. Here, villagization is said to have enlarged the vulnerability and breakability of the population dependent on rural subsistence economy due to unequal access to land and land use which made the local livelihood basis breakable. The situation is believed to have heightened through more overuse of natural resources. Moreover, land fragmentation has brought challenge on cultivation and proper utilization of the resource.²⁷

4.4. Administrative Impact

There have been changes brought on villagers' lives. They endorsed to begin communication with different people and the government by narrowing the distance or closing the gap between the two. The village governments or administration bodies mobilized the villagers and engage them in various social, economic, political and community activities. Now that people are living together in villages, it is easy for the villagers to communicate with the government. The government also can reach the people during difficult times and respond to their needs. Villagers solve common problem through collective action and fast response to the crises. They have been working together to maintain security and peace.²⁸ Village life also helped the regime to foster policy issues, like conscription of soldiers, dissemination of Marxist ideology, implementation of illiteracy program, provision of selective seeds and fertilizers with the intention to secure food security program, provision of some social services such as schools, clinics, etc.²⁹

There had been some human right violations committed by government officials. People were harassed, imprisoned, or jailed, forced to engage in corrupt activities of government officers. This served the regime to propagate the rhetoric of ethnic equality in the study areas. Information that was collected from oral informants attests that the security concern of villagization program was given greater emphasis than the implementation of the rural transformation goal. These programs have been introduced into the region with the intention to translate its hidden economic and political agenda and to increase the state military control of the area. Through the implementation of the projects, the *Därg* regime has intended to

²⁷ Ojulu Boka, "The Contributions of Villagization Program to the Lives of Villagers: The Case of Gog Worada, Gambella Regional State, Since 2010/11", (Addis Ababa University, 2017), pp.16-17: Mulugeta, p.65.

²⁸ Informants: Yimamu; Bekele and Hassen.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

create the societies with military characteristics, which attested by the formation of labor regiment, top-down decision making, and compulsory participation under the threat of corporal retribution, investigation, and restrictions. On the other hand, villagers were organized as military substructures with the interest to use them as principal sources of the human resources for the army as well as for special local militia forces responsible for locating and punishing suspected rebel traitors.³⁰As a result, the objective of village life was failed to hit its end. There was food shortage, from 1989 to 1990, villagers faced serious challenge and provided with maize from Gutin area by government officials.³¹

4.5. Environmental Impacts

Unlike the pervious rural transformation schemes, the *Därg* resettlement and villagization programs implementation were said to have been very devastative strategies in their procedures, and consequences, which sensed in ecological. It was the first disaster full resettlement program in the history of the country.³²

The resettlement program had a great impact on the environment and local people; the resettlement and villagization schemes were made on virgin land after clearing and burning of the dense forest changing the Bio diversity of the provinces held to environmental degradation. Between 1974 and 1991, forest destruction was highly intensified by the rise of new rural development program, which implemented through the resettlement and villagization schemes. At national level, the regime displaced 2500,000 people from the north and resettled in different sites. The implementation of the two projects brought serious deforestation which estimated 15,000000 hectares in general and study area in particular.³³

Most resettlement projects had brought pervasive social problems. There malaria and other health threats. There was psychological stress, in new villages than in the origin area. Moreover, the ecological or environmental negative impacts of resettlement is said to have been irreparable type, which for example, the loss of wildlife and forests resources and in the study area, especially, in Dorannii and Yayyoo area. However, the cries have been lately recognized by People of Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Ministry of Coffee and Tea Development, which wrote official letter written in 15, 08-82 Addis Ababa, No.2016/MAN to

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Informants: Tigist Biranu; Yimamu; Madine and Ayelom.

³² Shumete, p. 22, Gerum, p.16.

³³ Asefa, pp.40-41; Letter Written from the Ethiopian Democratic Republic Ministry of Coffee and Tea Development to Gaba *Awraja* Bureau, Tel.21130, No. 216MA5.

Gabbaa *awraja* Ministry Coffee and Tea Development Sector in order to cope with the destruction of forest. (see appendix)³⁴

In the study area, since the time of resettlement, for example, people have been traveled a short or long distance from the boundary of their *qäbälé* or villages to clear forests for the rise of the demand for construction materials and wooden furniture, fuel wood and charcoal making, lumber extraction, and expansion of farm land. The episode was further accelerated than reduction. This was due to changes seen in population growth, low levels of education and awareness; and forest habitat destruction to deter crop damaging wild pests (monkeys, warthogs, wild pigs, bush pigs, common monkeys, baboons, giant forest hogs, and warthogs) and dangerous carnivores (lions, leopards, and hyenas). etc.), along with lack of regulation to protect the forests, had aggravated deforestation in their local area. This brought a massive decrease in wild animals at different resettlement sites in Gabbaa *awraja*. This implies that forest destruction was accelerated in post-settlement period, when settlers were found to have put more pressure on the forest over the whole period than did indigenous inhabitants, who were unable to adjust their livelihood systems to deal with the increased demand for food, fuel wood, and other natural resources. This brought intense competition over resources between indigenous and settler households over resource use and led to extensive resource extraction, and violation of local resource management customary rules. Thus, within the three decades of time interval, the largest part of the forest cover in the study area was relatively cleared.³⁵

The implementation of villagization in the study area did get support by some group of farmers, who had been dispossessed from their farm by government for the purpose of villagization program. They moved deep into the forest and began to clear forest to get farm land. This led to the occurrence of incontrollable erosion funnel brought pervasive land degradation and property destruction on to the lowed villages. Some of them left the area and went to search for wage labor. They moved to Gumaro-Tea Farm, Bedele Bear Factory, and Gumma. However, after the villagization some of them returned to their original kebeles and have been continued other economic activities.³⁶

³⁴ Amare, p. 378.

³⁵ Ojulu Boka P.17 Lemessa, pp.66-68; Kefelegn Getahun, et al., "Impacts of Resettlement Programs on Deforestation of Moist Evergreen Afromontane Forests in Southwest Ethiopia." International Mountain Society, October 2017, p.479.

³⁶ Informants: Kes Asbha Hailu, Hagos Keflom, and Kes Tewlde Abebe.

4.6 The Failure of the *Därg's* Rural Transformation Programmes

The failure of the *Därg* rural transformation program was believed to have caused by the changes that came from internal and external dynamics. Internally, the regime had faced serious oppositions that came from different groups. Mostly, the peasants, who had been exposed to the imposition of the Agricultural Marketing Cooperation, opposed the system seriously. Similarly, there had been serious opposition that came from the southwestern Oromo against the implementation of resettlement and villagization schemes. On the other hand, opposition that came from the northern was very challenge-full in its characteristics. Externally, the collapse of communist ideology in Easter Europe had brought serious challenge on the *Därg* rural transformation program, which depended on foreign ideological and technological support.³⁷ Consequently, in the country, Mengistu Hailemariam was determed for change, and he made it clear in his speech made on the draft, which was prepared by the Central Planning Commission and presented to the National Shengo that held on March 5, 1990. Accordingly, Mengistu declared the following reforms. These include: 'introduction of mixed economy..., 'a shift to voluntarism in cooperative, villagization, and resettlement programs; in other words, people could leave if they wanted to (appendix)³⁸

Following the declaration, by the end of 1990s, large proportion of villages has been dimolished and people returned to their original places. In the southwestern regions, where Soor and the study area belong, settlers returned to the region from where they were brought. After the government's announcement of the new economic policy, peasants were given the freedom to join or abandon cooperatives and to bring their produce to market. Hence, the Mengistu regime abandoned one of the strong rationales for villagization and, in effect, the whole program as well. The former or the traditional markets began to operate. People began to exercise their rights to produce and harvest according to their own calculation of profit. They began to trade in livestock and produce all kinds of products. New business enterprises had begun to flourish in line with the interest to satisfy public material demand.³⁹ Generally, the down fall of the *Därg's* rural transformation schemes attested by the policy change directive that gave due emphasis to the values of mixed economy system to achieve the national development goal.⁴⁰ Conequently, settlers and villagers returned to their former

³⁷Henze, pp.61-62. Bekele, PP.78-80.

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰*Ibid*

residents. This also brought social, environmental, etc., disorder. Rural Peasant Associations, coollectivizations, common tenures, etc., collapsed. Individual work tradition restored.

Conclusion

The studies investigate a history of resettlement and villagization in Gabbaa *awraja* between the 1950s and 1991. The history of resettlement and villagization between the 1950s and 1991 brought change and continuity to socio-economic, political and cultural spheres. The study would enrich research outputs, particularly on subjects that have not been researched, documented, and discussed in the past in published or unpublished historical works. The study, discovered some changes and continuities in the post resettlement scheme. The implementation resettlement program and have been engaged in different economic activities and their life seteler become by far changed and the interaction of host and settler later on developed and gave opportunities for living in peace and haramonieous coexistence. The implementation of villagization program during the military regime brought participation of the people and gave important ground for the success of the implementation and brought some social service and agricultural transformation system and ethnic interaction was promoted. Consequently, the implementation of villagization program improved the interaction between the occupational group and other peoples.

However, the program failed to achieve its objective because it was practiced without the consent of the rural communities. In most cases, top-bottom approaches had been superimposed on the rural people by the policy designers. Settlers and villagers have never been consulted about the purpose of the program; there had been socialist ideological agenda behind the initiation of the program. Basic rural problems were ignored; instead, the success of socialist rural transformation through the realization of the resettlement and villagization schemes well. Rural development program has to be free from political orientation. Ideological derive should not be the basis of the rural development policy objectives. On the other hand, the *Därg* rural transformation was not inclusive by its character because the right of minorities was not put in action. This is because the peasants are the subjects of the rural development project. However, the impacts of resettlement and villagization programs became very important bench mark for government planning for the developments of future planning to improve socio economic constraints of the societies by studying from past experiences.

The study reveals that how resettlement program was brought social, economic, cultural, religious, political changes. In economic terms, settlers brought significant change on their economic status though there was ecological damage. There have been social and cultural integrations that brought change on the host people socio-cultural experiences. There have

been changes brought by the implementation of villagization program. Social, economic, environmental and cultural changes were brought in the study area. Socially, occupational groups forced to lose their traditional settlement and production areas, and subsequently integrated to new socio-economic activities.

The study has great contribution to all aspects of national development activities crafted on the basis of the tradition of tolerance towards multi-ethnic societies and social diversities. It thus serves the society, researchers, history students and others who would conduct further study on the region. The study provided important opportunity to those who are interested in some aspects of indigenous economic and political practices, which governed the entire society relations, with the others and even nature.

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3. List of Oral Informants

No	Name	Age	Date	Place of interview	Occupation	Remark
1	Ababaa Magarssaa (<i>Ato</i>)	76	13/12/2019	Dorannii	Farmer	He informed me about the problem of in the rural transformation schemes
2	Abadir Nuru (<i>Ato</i>)	80	8/4/2019	Yayyoo	Farmer	He was militia organizer to control the movements of opposition groups
3	Abdallaa Disasa (<i>Ato</i>)	70	5/4/2020	Hurumuu	Farmer	He informed me about how settlers were supplied with support by the host communities
4	Aberaa Kebede (<i>Ato</i>)	56	18/12/1919	Yayyoo	Farmer	She narrates how women were participated in resettlement program
5	Alamu Ragassaa ((<i>Ato</i>))	65	10/12/2020	Yayyoo	Agricultural expert	He narrated about the process of villagization
6	Aragawi Kifilom (<i>Ato</i>)	70	10/12/19	Dorannii	Farmer	A settler informed me that how settlers were affected by some social, cultural, natural, etc., factors and evacuated from the settlement sites.
7	Badiree Mohammad (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	67	11/10/1919	Dorannii	Farmer	She narrated about how they had been convinced by government cadres to settle in selected areas
8	Belay Adimasuu (<i>Ato</i>)	65	10/10/1919	Dorannii	Farmer	She is a settler and informed me with fresh information about how settlers were provided with support from the host communities
9	Belaye Hagos (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	73	17/11/1919	Hurumu	Farmer	She discussed about the host people well come presented to settlers

10	Bekele Burayu (Ato)	65	17/11/2019	Yayyoo	Teacher	He participated in <i>Zamacha</i> program to impelment the <i>Därg</i> rural transformation program. He was actively participated in the process of resettlement as well
11	Bimer Hagos (Ato)	65	25/11/2019	Dorrannii	Farmer	He narrated about the origin of settlers. He is a settler himself
12	Balaye Halifom (Wäyzäro)	70	25/11/2019	Dorrannii	Farmer	She informed me the changes brought after settlement in the new sites
13	Hadiyaa Mohammad (Wäyzäro)	72	22/12/2019	Hurumuu	Farmer	She discoed about her participation role in villagization program
15	Haile Katama (Ato)	73	22/11/2019	Dorrannii	Farmer	He is a known village elder and narrated about the history of ethnic composition and a change brought accordingly
16	Daguu Kebede (Ato)	65	22/12/2019	Hurumuu	Farmer	He narrated about the resettlement and villagization conducted in the study area
17	Dheressaa Tuchoo (Mämihir)	66	18/11/2020	Yayyoo	Teacher	He teacher and member of the <i>Därg</i> 's cadre in Yayo district and resettlement realization committee number
18	Dula Abshiru (Mämihir)	56	18/11/2020	Yayyoo	Teacher	He narrated about the process and implementation of illiteracy campaign
19	Gezahgn Ababacha (Ato)	70	10/10/2019	Dorannii	Farmer	He narrated the cause for the deterioration of the relationships between settlers and the host communities
20	Kebde Eshetu (Ato)	65	6/5/2020	Dorannii	Farmer	He is village elder and informed me that how military conscription was conducted in the villages and sent to the north to fight

						against opposition groups
21	Kebebu Ayle (Wäyzäro)	67	6/5/2020	Dorannii	Farmer	She narrated about the hasty implementation of villagization program Groups
22	Hagere Reday (Wäyzäro)	68	18/10/2019	Hurumuu	Farmer	She narrated how resettlement activities exposed by corruption
23	Hargawe Ftuiwi (Ato)	70	6/5/2020	Dorannii	Farmer	He narrated about how conflicts were erupted between settlers and natives due resource exploitation system
24	Hagos Asegdom (Ato)	83	18/11/2019	Dorannii	Farmer	He narrated about the services expected from villagers. He informed me that settlers were needed to contribute military service to the <i>Därg</i> regime
25	Hassen Indris(Ato)	67	24/12/2019	Yayyoo	Farmer	He was the <i>Därg</i> cadre narrated about the role played by different associations
26	Hasen Mohammad (Ato)	73	24/11/2019	Dorannii	Farmer	He discussed about the history of military control system in the villages.
27	Hagos Astbeha (Ato)	69	9/6/2020	Hurumuu	Farmer	A village elder narrated about the changes brought on settlers' life
28	Kalay Halifom (Ato)	70	9/6/201976	Hurumu	Farmer	He narrated about the number of bus brought settlers to the settlement sites
29	Mamad Disasa (Ato)	75	7/10/2019	Yayyoo	Farmer	He gave me information on the structural arrangements of village administration system and their duties
30	Madine Tatamke (Wäyzäro)	69	7/10/2019	Hurumuu	Farmer	She narrated regarding to the evacuation of the number of settlers to original home land

31	Miresa Gaisa (<i>Mämihir</i>)	64	20/10/2019	Yayyoo	Teacher	He is a known farmer and narrated about the patriation of different association in the implementation of villagization program in the study area
32	Mohammed Nego (<i>Ato</i>)	62	10/20/2019	Yayyoo	Farmer	He narrated how imported religious doctrines worked against people's attitude toward Nature
33	Yisaq Ayana (<i>Mämihir</i>)	57	10/20/2019	Yayyoo	Teacher	He was teacher and member of <i>Därg</i> Party leader, narrated about the advantages and disadvantages of resettlement and villagization schemes on the host and settler
34	Yimamu Abdu (<i>Ato</i>)	75	10/20/19	Yayyoo	Farmer	He discussed about the history of the previous settlers in the study area and the change came after a while. He narrated that how villages were used to chick Opposition groups
35	Yimer Shamsu (<i>Ato</i>)	72	19/11/2019	Hurumuu	Farmer	He narrated the implementation of the <i>Därg</i> rural transformation and its impact on the settlers and host peoples
36	Tesfaye Andarge (<i>Ato</i>)	73	19/11/2019	Yayyoo	Marchant	He narrated the implementation of the <i>Därg</i> rural transformation and its impact on the settlers and host peoples
37	Wase Tilahuun (<i>Ato</i>)	70	19/11/2019		Merchants	He gave me information on the structural arrangements of village administration system and their duties
38	wasen Abebe (<i>Ato</i>)	66	18/8/2020	Dorannii	Merchants	Dweller in Chairman in the of Cooperative farm during <i>Därg</i> and more knows about the history of Ilu Abbaa Boor

39	Walee	70	20/11/19	Hurumuu	Famer	He narrated the implementation of the <i>Därg</i> rural transformation and its impact on the settlers and host peoples
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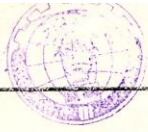
Brief Description about Appendices

Appendix number	Date (E.C)	High light	Remark
I	16/04/1986	A letter written to Gabbaa <i>awraja</i> for the support provision because of famine in north Ethiopia during the military regime	The letter demanded support of clothes, foods and other for drought affected areas.
II	17/ 1982 E.C.	letter Written from the Yambo <i>Zuriya</i> to Gabbaa <i>awraja</i> about the assistance given for settler by local peasant Asociacion.	The letter requested aid for ressetters in Gabbaa <i>awaraja</i> .
III	15/ 05/19 83 E. C.	letter written from the Ethiopian Republic Government to Gabbaa <i>awraja</i>	The letter demanded facilitation of settlement from Soor into Gabbaa.
IV	4/5/1983 E.C	letter written from National Program Coordinating Authority to five Provinces in 5 December, 1980 E.C.	the letter demanded settlement of resettlers in Gabbaa <i>awraja</i> .
V	25/1982	letter written from the Ethiopian Republic Government to Gabbaa <i>awraja</i> 25 March, 1982E.C.	The letter states about provision of farm lands for settlers.
VI	2/4/1980	letter written from the Ethiopian Republic Government to Gabba <i>awraja</i>	The letter emphasizes that all peasant associations in Gabbaa <i>awrajaa</i> should begin villagization in the sub-province.
VII	28/ 3/82 E.C.	A letter Written Republic Office of the Council Ministers to Coffee and Tea Development Minister Addis Ababa,	The letter orders scattered villagers to join clustered villages, which is a mandatory in Gabbaa <i>awraja</i> . Implementation.

VIII	28/5/1982	letter Written from the Ethiopian People's Democratic Republic Office of the Council Ministers to Coffee and Tea Development Minister Addis Ababa,	The letter states that villagization should be conducted according model established villages in Gabbaa awraja.
IX	1/4/80-08/04/80 E.C	A report letter prepared by <i>wäräda</i> Agricultural office to cake list the implementation of villagization in each kebeles	The letter orders the implementation of <i>Segsäga</i> (intepersing) villagization in Hurummuu district.
X	1/4/80 E.C	cake list prepared by Gabbaa <i>awuraja</i> about the implementation of villagization in each kebeles	It tells about the ongong villagization in Gabbaa <i>awraja</i> .
XI	1/4/80 E.C	Provides list prepared by Gabaa <i>awraja</i> about the implementation of villagization in each kebeles	It is a report of villagization campaign conducted in Gabbaa <i>awraja</i> .
XII	18/ 1982	a letter written from the Ethiopian Democratic Republic Ilubabor Province Administration Office to Gabbaa <i>awraja</i> Bureau,	The letter states about socio-economic facililites provided for resettlers.
XIII	10/7/1982	A letter written from the people democratic Ethiopia office of the council of minister to Gabbaa <i>awuraja</i>	The letter requests the district to fifill necessary socio-economc facilities for the resettlers.
XIV	21/1983	a letter written from the Ethiopian Democratic Republic Ilu Abbaa Boor Province Administration Office to Gabbaa <i>awraja</i> Bureau	The letter reports the aid given by NGO for settlers in Hurrummuu district.

XV	04/05/1982	letter Written from the Ethiopian People's Democratic Republic Office of the Council Ministers to Coffee and Tea Development Minister Addis Ababa, to Gabbaa <i>awraja</i> to Ethiopian Banck.	The letter reports provision of mill for Aciboo <i>qäbälé</i> Peasant Association settlers.
XVI	15/08/1982	letter Written from the Ethiopian People's Democratic Republic Office of the Council Ministers to Coffee and Tea Development Minister Addis Ababa, to Gabbaa <i>awraja</i> .	The letter requests to stop of deforestation by local people.
XVII	10/7/82	letter Written from the Ethiopian People's Democratic Republic Office of the Council Ministers to Coffee and Tea Development Minister Addis Ababa, to Gabbaa <i>awraja</i> .	The letter concedes the failure of command and the declaration of mixed economy. It implies the demise of the <i>Darg</i> regime in a way.

Appendix II



7

ቀን: 2019/10/22
ቀን: 8/7/77

የአዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ
የሥነ ምግባርና የሥነ ጥበቃ
ኮሌጅ

ዘርፍ: የሥነ ጥበቃ
የ/ግ

ጉዳይ: ከሠራተኛ: የሥራ ምዕራፍ: መሥሪያ: ከመሥሪያ: የሥራ ጉዳይ:
የሥራ ጉዳይ: የሥራ ጉዳይ: የሥራ ጉዳይ: የሥራ ጉዳይ:

ሥራ: የሥራ ጉዳይ: የሥራ ጉዳይ: የሥራ ጉዳይ: የሥራ ጉዳይ:
የሥራ ጉዳይ: የሥራ ጉዳይ: የሥራ ጉዳይ: የሥራ ጉዳይ:
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የሥራ ጉዳይ: የሥራ ጉዳይ: የሥራ ጉዳይ: የሥራ ጉዳይ:
የሥራ ጉዳይ: የሥራ ጉዳይ: የሥራ ጉዳይ: የሥራ ጉዳይ:

Appendix III



የኢትዮጵያ ግንባር ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ
 በኢ.ሰ.ሰ.ሪ አስተዳደር አካል
 የገባ አውራጃ ጽ/ቤት

ቁጥር 551/172/82

ቀን ፳፻፳፫፡ 21. 1983

ለገባ አውራጃ ጉናና ሽይ ልማት ቀ/ጽ/ቤት፤

ደ ዓፎ

ሰባር አውራጃ አለጋ ጉራቻ በጫባለው ቀበሌ ሰፍረው የነበረ እነ አቶ ታረቀኝ ወ/ደፍረው 14. ራሃቸውን በመሆን በቀበሌው ከባቶች ያለ ቀባቸውና ቤተሰቦቻቸውም ጤና ያጡ መሆናቸውን በመገለጽ በመገላ አጋሮ ከሰፈሩት ወገኖቻቸውና ዘመዶቻቸው ጋር ለመኖር እንዲችሉ ከሰባር አውራጃ አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት በ10/3/83 በቁጥር 617/ሰ123/15 በተጻፈ የማገጠሚያ ደብዳቤ የተሰጡ ስለሆኑ፡፡

ከተጠቀሱት ቀበሌም ሆነ በአቀራቢያው ከጫገኛው ቀበሌ ለ14 አባወራ የጫባቻ ቦታ ቢኖር ተጠንቶ ለአውራጃው የተፈጥሮ ችግር መቋቋሚያ ኮሚቴ እንዲቀርብ እናሣሰባለን፡፡



ግዴታ ባለው ጽ/ቤት
 ገባር አውራጃ አስተዳደር
 የገባ አውራጃ ጽ/ቤት

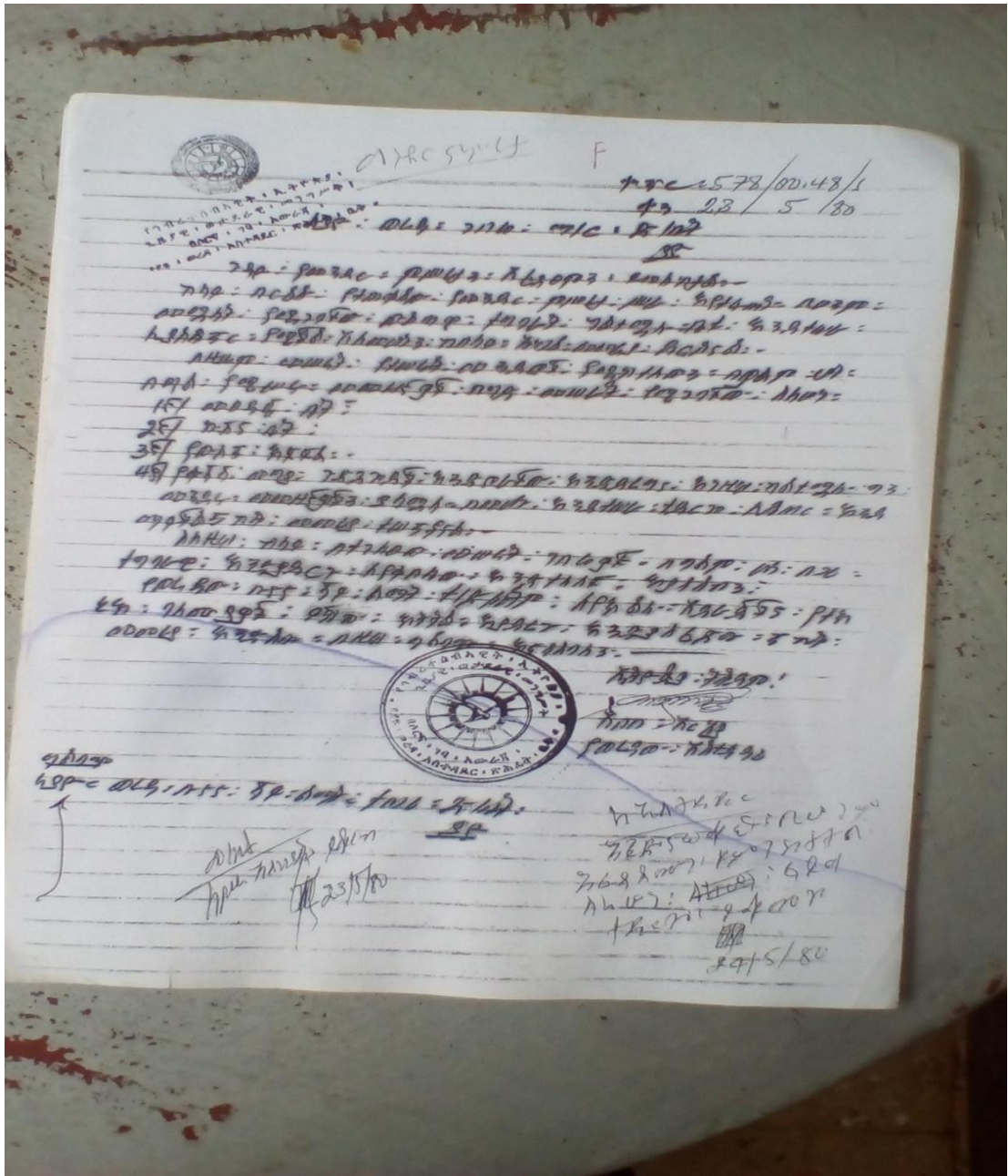
ገልበጭ፤

ሰባር አውራጃ አስተዳደር

መ ቱ፤

ወ/ሮ ገባር
 የገባ አውራጃ ጽ/ቤት
 የገባ አውራጃ ጽ/ቤት
 22/3/83

Appendix X



Appendix.XI

1980 ዓ.ም የመገደር ምሥረታ የሥራአገጽበቃዎች ፊርማ ማቅረቢያ ቅጽ

ከ01/04/80 እስከ 08/04/80

ተ.ቁ	የቀ/ገ/ማ ስም	የተሰጠበት አባዕ ስድስት		ተሠር ተቋም የሰጠው ቀደም ተከታ			የተሰጠበት የቤተሰብ አባላት ብዛት		የፈረሰው ገንዘብ	
		ወንድ	ሴት	ሳር	ቀር	መፀ	ሌሎች	ወንድ		ሴት
1	ሐሮ	2		2				2	5	150
2	ዳቢባ	2	1	3				7	2	180
3	መብራህ	1		1				1	1	-
4	ጁ ቶ	3		3			5	4	5	150
5	ጀሚና ሸና			4			1			150
6	ሰምበ	1		1				2	3	80
7	አቲቦ									-
8	ዳ ዩ	3		2	1		1	5	3	-
9	መሠገጉ			2						-
10	ሀመሙ ያዳ			2						-
11	.. ደገቶ			1						-
12	ተ/ጌሪ			3						300
13	ጌሪ ደረ			1						100
14	ጌሪ ጌደያ			1						60
15	አቢዩ			6						360
16	ዋቦ ገነቺ			2						-
17	ሰብር	6		6				6	15	-
18	ቲጁ	3		3				4	6	-
19	ጮሩ	1		3				2	1	-
20	ገተሚ	1		1				4	1	-
21	ሰገደ	2		2				4	1	-
22	ገሤ ደገ	3		3				6	6	200
23	አገር ለተ	2		2				4	5	-
24	ቦ/ገሤ	5		5						-
25	ቦ/መገላ	2		1				1	1	100
26	ቦ ት									-
27	ገዳናይ ገምቦላ	2		2				6	4	200
28	.. ሱታ	1		1				2	2	100
29	የምበ ደርሚ	1		1	1					-
30	ዶኔ	5		5						360
31	አገጉ	3		3				8	7	-
32	አርዲገ	2		2		1		5	4	-
33	ከምበ	4		4						240
34	ሌ.ያ	3		3						180
		58	1	79	2	1	7	73	71	2910

ገምገማ : ማ/ደ.ሠ

Appendix XIII

- - 13

1170000: 113: 125 125 - 125: 11771: 1111 915: 125

No	Date	1170000		113		125 125		125: 11771		1111 915		125
		1170000	113	125	125	125	125	1111	915	125	125	
1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1170000
2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1170000
3	-	-	-	1	500	-	-	-	-	7	-	1170000
4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	137	-	1170000
5	-	-	-	1	500	-	-	-	-	174	-	1170000

1170000: 113: 125 125 - 125: 11771: 1111 915: 125

Appendix.XIV



የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝባዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ
የሕዝብ አዎጋጅ ስነ-ምግባር ሚኒስቴር

ቁጥር 3090/ሰ/3/1

ቀን 07. 1984

ለገባ አወራጃ ጦናና ሽቦ ሰማት መምሪያ ፣
የ ዩ ዩ ፣

ጉዳዩ በሰዎች ለሰዎች ዐርዳታ ሰጭ ድርጅትና በሪብሰን በነፃ ስለሚሰጡት የዐሀል ወፍጮች ይሆናሉ ፣

ከላይ በርዕሱ እንደ ተጠቀሰው በነፃ የሚሰጡት የዐሀል ወፍጮች በአንድ ወቅት አገልግሎት ሰጥተው የሚያቋቋሙ ሃይማኖት ተጠቃሚ ህብረተሰብ ለረጅም ጊዜ ያልተቋቋመ አገልግሎት እንዲሰጡ ነው ። //

ይህም ለሀገር የሚቸለው 15% ከወፍጮው የሚገኘው ገቢ በከነነት በጣም ስኬታማ አካላት ሲያዘና በባንክ እየተቀመጠ በሂደት በሚሰናከሉት ዕቃዎች ለየወጣው መገዘያና በአርገድ ምክንያት አገልግሎት ሲያቋርጥ ከራሱ በተገኘው ገቢ ሌላ አካል ወፍጮ ገዘተ ሊቀጥ ሲቻል ፣

25/ ይህንን ተገባሪ የሆኑ ለጣድረገ ደገጥ የአድራጅ መ/ቤተ የቀርብ ከተሰጠና ቀጥሎ ሲታሰብ በመሆኑ መ/ቤተሁ ይህንን አውቀ አስፈላጊው የዎያ እገዛና ቀጥሎ እንዲያደርግ እያሰጠን፣


በሁረው ክልል በቀርብ ጊዜ ለቀረሱ አገ/ሀ/ሥ/ጣህበር፣ ለወናገሪያ አገ/ሀ/ሥ/ጣህበርና ለሌላ ሃያ አገልግሎት ሀ/ሥ/ጣህበር ከሰዎች ለሰዎች ዐርዳታ ሰጪ ድርጅት የተሰጡት ሰሰት የዐሀል ወፍጮች ጣህበራት ሲረከቡ ሮክክብ የተፈጸመበት ዘርዘር ለከተሰጠና ቀጥሎ እንዲያመጣቸው ለሁረው ጦናና ሽቦ ሰማት ዐባይ ጣቢያ ኃላፊ ለገደ ጣሉዳን ተረጎ ያስረከባናቸው መሆኑን ሊገልጽ አለ፣

Handwritten signatures and notes in the bottom left corner.



ኢትዮጵያ ተቀደሞ
Handwritten signature
ወ. ሕ. የ. ጥ. ሰ. ጥ. ጥ.
የሕዝብ አዎጋጅ ስነ-ምግባር ሚኒስቴር

Appendix. XVII



የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝባዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ
የሚኒስትሮች ምክር ቤት ጽሕፈት ቤት
The People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
Office of the Council of Ministers

የቀን ቀን
 Date

የጽሑፍ ቁጥር
 Ref. No.

ቴሌግራም 21640
 ቴሌፎን 563400

ፖ.ሣ.ቁ. 1031
 አዲስ አበባ ኢትዮጵያ
 Addis Ababa Ethiopia

ለግብርና ሚኒስቴር
 ለግብርና ሽያጭ ልማት ሚኒስቴር
 ለዲብ አበባ


10-7-82
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ጉዳዩ፡- የአምራች የኅዝብ ሥራ ማኅበራትን
በሚመለከት የወጣ ጊዜያዊ የአፈጻጸም
መመሪያ

የአሁን ማዕከላዊ ክፍት 11ኛ መደበኛ ዘጠባ ህገ-መንግሥት የምትገኝበትን የዕድገት ደረጃና ዘወትር ላይ የተከበተውን የሰው ሀብት ለማጠናከር ለመደራት ዕድገት ለማደግ ክብሩ የሠራተኞች ወጣት አንድ የአምራች የኅዝብ ሥራ ማኅበራት የቀይተ ኢንፎርሜሽን ሥርዓት አካል ሆነው ለንዲተገቡና ተገቢ ደብዳቤ ለሚያስፈልጉት ለንዲያግዙ የተሰጠው ሠራተኛ ነው፡፡

በዚህም መሠረት በአምራች የኅዝብ ሥራ ማኅበራት ዘንድ ሲንከባሰቡ የቀዳሚ ችግሮች በመፍታት የማጠናከሪያ ለርምጃዎች ለመሠገድ ወይም መፍረስ የሚገባቸው በሥነ ሥርዓት ለማፍረስ የሚረዱ የዘላቂ ተመሪያ አጠቃላይ ደብዳቤ የተረገጠው ጊዜያዊ መመሪያ በሥራ ላይ ለንዲሠራ መጠየቁ የሚታወቅ ነው፡፡

በዚህ መሠረት ጊዜያዊ መመሪያው መገቢት 6 ቀን 1982 ለሚኒስትሮች ምክር ቤት ቋሚ ክፍት 11ኛ አብዮታዊ ዕብደት ጥር በገብርና ወይም ከተደረገበትና ክፍል ልዩ ሁኔታዎች አንዲት ዘመናዊ በሆነ መመሪያ የወጣት ሆኖ የሚገኝ ምሳሌ ለንዲሠራ በመገንዘብ "መመሪያው ከመገቢት 7 ቀን 1982 ደብዳቤ ተገባራዊ ለንዲሆን" በማለት የወጣውን በሰሪና በሠራተኛ ሠራተኛ ለንዲታወቅ፡፡



አምራች ተቀደሞ
Amplé
 በሥራ ላይ የሚገኝ
 የአሁን ማዕከላዊ ክፍት ስራ
 የሚኒስትሮች ምክር ቤት ጽሕፈት ቤት

Glossary

<i>Abbaa</i>	Father
<i>Aaraara</i>	Reconciliation
<i>Araqee</i>	Locally producing alcohol drink
<i>Awuraja</i>	Administrative division of during imperial and <i>Därg</i> regime
<i>Beqäla</i>	Revenge
<i>Bokkuu</i>	Scared heled by <i>Abba Gadaa</i>
<i>Därg</i>	Committee
<i>Gadaa</i>	Power, grade, age-set the Maccaa-Oromo
<i>Daggala Saaqii</i>	The forest oppener
<i>Hora</i>	Miniral water used by Oromo Peoples for medicine
<i>Guddiffachaa</i>	Child adoption system by the Macca- Oromo
<i>Gumaa</i>	Compensation system of blood feud
<i>Jaarsummaa</i>	Indigenous institution of conflict resolution
<i>Mahebär</i>	Association
<i>Mädäbäñña</i>	Regular or basic
<i>Qänsera</i>	Daily contract work
<i>Qabiyyee</i>	Native land tenure
<i>Qomoo</i>	Name given by Macca Oromo
<i>Qoroo</i>	Local chief
<i>Säfari</i>	Settler
<i>Safuu</i>	Norm
<i>Sänbätè</i>	Local religious ceremony with local drink at Orthodox Church
<i>Sooressa</i>	Rich man
<i>Shanee</i>	One-to-five
<i>Ṭäqlaygezat</i>	Big administration unit
<i>Waaqaa</i>	The skay God
<i>Warra</i>	They, surrounding
<i>Warra Gadaa</i>	Senior family
<i>Warra Xinaa</i>	Minor family
<i>Xuxee</i>	Local institution
<i>Zämächa</i>	Campaign given by the students during military regime

Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted to any university for any award. All source materials used for this thesis have been duly acknowledged. This thesis has been submitted for the examination with my approval as university advisor.

Name: _____

Signature _____ Date _____